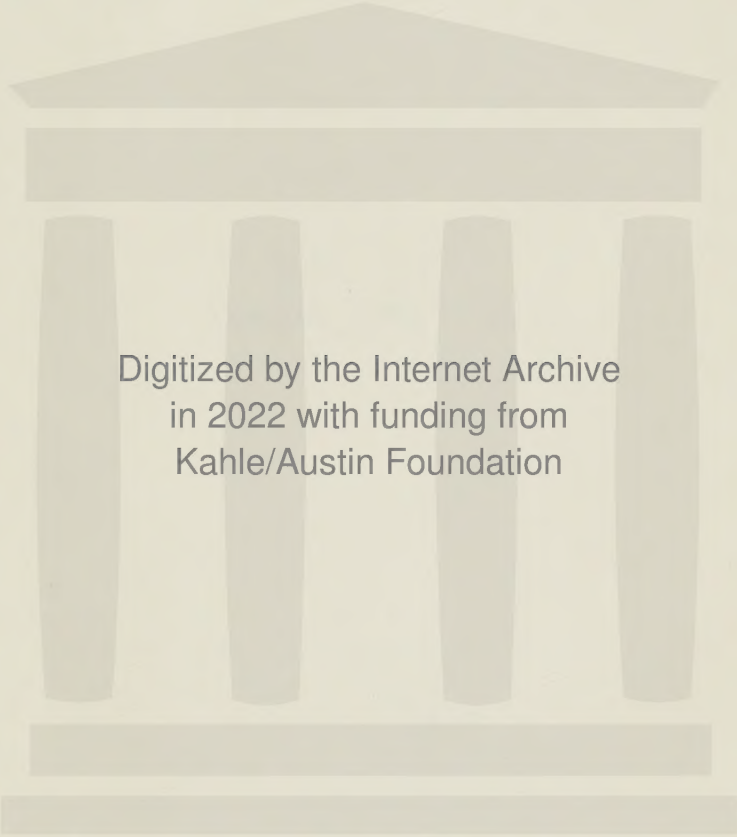


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JUDGE THOMAS BURKE

When one who has towered above his fellows in intellect and achievement lies down to enter upon the long sleep how truly for those who remain does there seem a vacant place against the sky.

The span of half a century may yield lean annals for the older communities of the earth, but in this newer Pacific Northwest such a period spells the leap from forest to city, from wilderness to metropolis.

Through such a length of fruitful years Thomas Burke wrought with a profound and unsparing industry. His skillful hands touched every worthy cause within his reach; his fertile brain visioned opportunities and blessings for city, state and nation; his dauntless courage combatted and conquered dangers; his loving heart linked to him countless friends of every hue and station, each of whom alone knew some act of kindness.

He lived to the fulness of time from his humble birth in Clinton County, New York, on December 22, 1848, to the zenith of his career in the nation's metropolis on December 4, 1925.

During the years of his boyhood the fibers of his sturdy character were strained and strengthened by alternating work and study that he might obtain an education while helping, as well, other members of his family. These struggles culminated in the University of Michigan Law School in 1872. He was admitted to the bar in 1873 and removed to Seattle in the spring of 1875, where he began and maintained the half century of remarkable achievement.

His first partnership was with Judge John J. McGilvra who had come to Washington Territory in 1861 as United States District Attorney, an appointee of President Lincoln. Judge Burke made permanent his alliance with the McGilvra family on October 6, 1879, by marriage with Caroline E. McGilvra. The widow of Judge McGilvra has passed her ninetieth birthday. She received daily and joyful letters from Judge Burke during his last journey. Three of those letters arrived in Seattle after the news of their writer's death had been flashed around the globe.

Judge Burke's success in his profession of the law was quick and continuous. His ability was at once recognized by his election as Judge of the Probate Court of King County from 1876 to 1880 and later by his selection as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Washington Territory in December, 1888. That position he resigned in April, 1889, after having helped to clear the congested calendar.

Success and greatness as a lawyer would satisfy the ordinary man. Judge Burke was not of that type. His civic interest soon became dominant. He served on the Territorial Board of Education, as a member of the Seattle Board of Education, as a Trustee of Whitman College and always as a friend and helper of the University of Washington. In the early days he was a charter member and the first volunteer secretary of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. In later days his influence was potent in the larger matters of transportation, notably the advent and development of the Great Northern Railway. It is simply bewildering to contemplate the energy that emanated from this one among the valiant leaders who worked so effectually on the upbuilding of Seattle and other communities of the Pacific Northwest.

During the anti-Chinese riots of 1886, Judge Burke, with other like patriots, carried a musket to uphold law and order and to protect weak foreigners within our gates. From that moment he availed himself of every opportunity to use his convincing eloquence and his own resources to advocate international justice and friendship. In his last year of life he was warned by physicians to avoid public speaking. In defiance of that warning, he arose among his fellow trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace to make one more plea for justice toward the Japanese. The end had come. As he collapsed he fell into the arms of his strong friend President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and, thus held, he passed on into the other world. He would not have chosen any other way of death, still giving of his talents a service for others.

The facts of Judge Burke's life and death have been published in the newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific and in the newspapers beyond the Pacific and beyond the Atlantic. This simple tribute is published here out of a spirit of loyalty to his memory. He was one of the founders of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* and, with his friend Samuel Hill, sustained it through the first difficult years of its existence.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

JACOB A. MEYERS CALLED BY DEATH

From the standpoint of personal knowledge, shrewd observation and long study of the old journals and records of the past century, few men were as well informed on the early history of this region as the late Mr. Jacob A. Meyers of Meyers Falls. Although he had lived in the northeastern part of the Territory and State of Washington for over fifty-six years, Mr. Meyers never claimed the distinction of being a pioneer; the real pioneers—the fur traders, the missionaries, the gold miners and the old army men—he said, had all been here ahead of him, and they, he believed, were entitled to the full credit of pioneer effort. Of late years Mr. Meyers has passed considerable time each year in Spokane and the Coast cities. It was my good fortune to have been intimately acquainted with Mr. Meyers and in recent conversations with him he gave me the following interesting account of his family and their early experiences in Washington Territory; which I had typewritten and submitted to Mr. Meyers for his revision a couple of weeks before his death:

“My full name is Jacob Allen Meyers. On my father’s side I am descended from an old New York Holland Dutch family. John Wattermeyers, a Loyalist, moved with his immediate family to Canada during the Revolutionary War and, shortening the name to Meyers, founded the present Meyers family. His father and seven brothers were members of Washington’s army and remained in the State of New York. On my mother’s side I am descended from the Spaldings and from the same stock as Ethan and Noah Allen. I have thus both tory and union blood in my veins. I was born at Bellville, Ontario, Canada, on March 22, 1855, and I lived there until we came to Washington Territory in 1869. My father, Louther Walden Meyers, joined an expedition of Canadians bound for the Pacific Coast that left Bellville on May 12, 1862. They came by way of Fort Garry, now the site of the city of Winnipeg, with Red River ox carts and wagons, across the plains, over the Rainy Mountains to the south branch of the Saskatchewan, reaching Edmonton on August 8, 1862. Most of the party went direct to the Cariboo mining country by the north pass; the remainder comprising thirty men, women and children and eighteen carts, came overland by the old Hudson’s Bay Com-

pany's trail into the Colville Valley, crossing the Rocky Mountains and coming by way of the Kootenai River and Montana. My father reached the site of the present town of Colville on November 7, 1862. He played a prominent part in the early development of the Colville section.

"For several years my father was employed in the Colville Valley and being an expert cabinet maker by trade he did considerable work about the old trading post and mill, as well as at the Military Post. In 1863 he took charge of the Oppenheimer Mill and worked until 1865. In March of that year he quit his job as miller for the D. H. Ferguson & Company after operating the flour mill on the Little Pend O'Reille River, and went to the gold mines at the Big Bend of the Upper Columbia River in British Columbia. My father's diary or journal gives the details of his experiences and the names of other contemporary miners, including many men identified with the earliest settlement of North-eastern Washington. The following are some of his fellow-miners: Joe Lapray, later to locate at La Pray's Bridge; Dave McLoughlin, son of Dr. McLoughlin of Old Oregon fame; Al Murray, Shep Bayley, Johnny Cluckston, for whom Cluckston Creek in Stevens County is named; John Campbell, Henry La-Flures, Bill Downey, John McCrea, Bob Ridley, George F. C. McCrea, Henry (Hank) Carnes, Bob Nobles, Joe Roberts, who settled near Addy; Joe Martin, George Taylor, Wm. Muirhead, Frank Jenett, Wm. Yagar, R. H. Douglas, Peter Liberty, a brother of Steve Liberty for whom Liberty Lake was named; Henry Wellington, A Chambois, Moses Dupais, Wm. (Billy) Weller, 'Texas' Hilburn, Vick Shefferfield, Ben McDonald, Ben Bergunder, McNeil, Curmers, Kelly, Thompson, Murphy, Pervis, St. Germain, Cole, Gerald, Anderson, Smith, Kirby, Seaman, Wilson, Baird and others.

"My father and the other miners did not make much money in their placer mining ventures, and many of them returned and settled in the Colville Valley. My father returned in November, 1865. The following June, 1866, with George B. Wonnacott, under the firm name of L. W. Meyers & Co. he leased the old Hudson's Bay Company grist mill and power, subject to its acquirement by the United States under the settlement then being made under the treaty of 1846. My father improved the dam and flume in 1866, and continued in possession of the mill after the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its rights thereto and selected the lands embracing the falls of the Colville River as a

valuable land location, filing on and obtaining patent thereto when the lands were surveyed some twenty years later.

"In 1869 my father sent for the rest of the family to join him in the Colville Valley and on October 12, 1869, we started from Orono, Ontario, and came by train by way of Toronto, Detroit, St. Joe, Council Bluffs, and over the Union and Central Pacific railroads. Then via Kelton, Nampa and Baker City to Walla Walla where father met us. The trip from Walla Walla was made over the old Colville-Walla Walla Military Road that came up Cow Creek by the site of the present town of Sprague. There were then no towns whatever between Walla Walla and Colville, and only a handful of settlers. We reached father's home ranch in the Colville Valley on November 5, 1869. I have lived in the vicinity ever since.

"When I arrived the old Hudson's Bay Company Post, Fort Colville, was still occupied and conducted by the company with the late Angus MacDonald in charge as chief trader. The old United States army post, Fort Colville, was also occupied by a garrison of regular troops, and there was a little settlement near by called Pinckneyville, and afterwards Colville, which had a population of but sixty or seventy people. There was no settlement at all then at the site of the present town of Colville. The log buildings of the British boundary barracks, on the flat where the town of Marcus is now located, were still standing and some of them were used or occupied by the late Marcus Oppenheimer, who had a trading store there, and the flat and the town, later started there, became known as Marcus Flat and the town of Marcus.

"I was nearly fifteen years old when I came here to Washington Territory, and I have a very clear recollection of conditions as they then existed. The falls of the Colville River where the old Hudson's Bay Company's mill was situated became known as Meyers Falls. That old millsite had first been improved in 1827-1828 and was occupied by the first flour mill built in the United States west of the Rocky Mountains. The first patented flour ever made in the United States was manufactured there in 1866. In 1872, I assisted my father in dismantling the old mill, and in constructing a new mill on the site of the old "Goudy" mill of 1843. This old Hudson's Bay Company's mill once produced cereals that supplied all the employees of the Company from Utah to Peace River between the Cascades and the Rockies. I used to

help my father operate this mill, and in early days Indians would fetch their small stores of grain, threshed by being tramped out by the feet of cayuse ponies on a threshing floor, to our mill from the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene Valleys. The Chinamen, placer mining along the bars of the Columbia River, also patronized the mill. In my dealing with the Indians at the mill I soon learned to converse in the Chinook jargon. This mill was destroyed by fire in 1916.

"I was well acquainted with the Angus MacDonald family and I was frequently at the Hudson's Bay Company's Post occupied by them after its abandonment by the company. I was also well acquainted with Ranald MacDonald, son of Archibald MacDonald, but I was not as interested, thirty-five or forty years ago, as now in the early history of the Northwest and I failed to make timely use of my opportunity for first hand information afforded by my personal acquaintance with many of these early pioneer characters of the Colville Valley.

"The present town of Colville was started in 1884 and my father originally owned a considerable portion of the town. The townsite of Meyers Falls, named for my father, was also largely owned by him. In the spring of 1870, I set out on our farm what I believe was the first orchard planted north of the Snake River.

"In those early days there was no settlement whatever at Spokane Falls, and for a long time the only two crossings on the Spokane River were Monahans, afterwards known as La Pray's Bridge, on the Colville-Walla Walla Military Road, and Kendall's, afterwards known as Cowley's Bridge, on the Mullan Road; there were only a few hundred people living north of the Snake River. It was not until the 80's that we began trading at Spokane Falls. I met my first bandit going to Spokane Falls in 1882. There was not more than a few hundred people in the entire territory north of the Snake River at that time.

"We had left the ranch at Meyers Falls early one winter morning and started to Spokane behind a four-horse team, to get supplies of food and clothing. Our route was by the road that comes from Hillyard into Spokane from the north. Arriving in the city we loaded up with the supplies and decided to return home via the Four-Mound Prairie road, which took us west for several miles and then turned northeast back to Meyers Falls.

"Four miles from Spokane, on this road we were stopped by a man on horseback. It was in the dead of winter and the country was mantled in snow. The stranger stopped us, evidently taking

us for tenderfeet, and asked us where we were going. We told him and he said that we were on the wrong road and that we must go south for four miles.

"We knew immediately that something was wrong, that the stranger was trying to mislead us. After arguing with him we managed to shake him off and proceeded on our way. We later learned that this same man was known to have robbed newly arrived settlers by sending them along the road which he claimed led southward. Once they were on this road, he pillaged them."

It was on this same trip that Mr. Meyers experienced what he claims was the coldest weather ever known in the Inland Empire. They had turned northeast toward Meyers Falls and decided, after going several miles, that they would camp out for the night.

"When we awoke the next morning we found that the mercury in the thermometer had become frozen and when we picked up the instrument the solid fluid broke through the bulb and fell to the ground like a bullet—and we were sleeping out!" said Mr. Meyers.

"We were just getting breakfast when Attorney Sam Hyde of Colville, later Judge Hyde of Spokane, arrived at the camp on his way to Spokane. We offered him a cup of the steaming coffee we had just made and he gulped it down in a way that made his breath look like smoke, and declared it was the best drink he had ever had."

Jacob A. Meyers at the age of 70, after a residence in the Colville Valley for 56 years, died at St. Luke's hospital in Spokane on Tuesday, October 20, 1925, following illness from diabetes. He had only been in the hospital a week, but was partly unconscious most of the time. Up to the time of entering the hospital he had been active as usual though he had been in poor health for over a year. His interest in the geology of the Grand Coulee caused him to spend several days at the head of the Coulee just a few weeks before his death.

Funeral services were held Thursday afternoon, October 22, 1925, at the Smith Chapel in Spokane, conducted by the Rev. F. L. Cook, former pastor of the Colville Methodist Episcopal church. The body was shipped to Colville, and services were held Saturday afternoon, October 29, 1925, at 2 o'clock at the McCord Funeral Chapel, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Cook. Burial was at Meyers Falls. Members of the Stevens County Pioneer associa-

tion and the Woodmen of the World and a number of friends from Spokane went to Colville and attended the funeral services.

The pallbearers were Hugh Waddel, George Peddycord, W. L. Sax, C. R. McMillan, C. B. Ide and Frank Habelin.

Jacob A. Meyers had been a resident of the Colville country for 56 years. He never married. In his early life he assisted his father in the many enterprises and land holdings of the family. After the death of his father in 1909 he took over a large part of the management of the estate, continuing his residence at Meyers Falls, named in honor of his father. Here he had his library and his extensive collection of historical papers, photographs and books, but he spent much time in traveling while in search of historical matter.

He was a charter member of the Woodmen of the World camp at Meyers Falls and for many years served as its clerk. When the camp was abandoned, he changed his membership to Colville. He was a charter member of the Stevens County Pioneer association, and a member of the Spokane County Pioneer Society, and of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, and he always evinced a great interest in their proceedings.

His only brother, George E. Meyers, died in Spokane in 1923. The only sister, Mrs. Elizabeth V. Cagle, lives at Meyers Falls.

The kindly figure of Jacob Meyers will be missed by his friends. The satchel which he invariably carried, the long beard in which he took such a pride, the overcoat slung over his arm—all form a memory which has been unchanging for many years. Especially will the writer miss him, for he never came to Spokane without stepping in my office for a word of greeting, a reminiscence, a bit of historical lore, which he had uncovered, or a hint as to where some historical fact might be further substantiated; and we spent many an evening together before the open wood fire at my home talking over various phases of the pioneer history of the Northwest.

Precision and accuracy were the rule of his life. He took care not to make mis-statements. He religiously adhered to the old-fashioned customs of diary writing, and by referring to his books could account for the exact date and circumstances of every important happening during his life, and he recently told me the experience of his family during an earthquake of long ago. He would spend months verifying, rather than permit himself to

assume a position which was open to controversy. He wanted facts, and he was willing to work for them.

In matters of early northwest history he was at his best. He spent a great deal of time, money and research in recent years in endeavoring to locate the correct sites of many of the old trading posts in this State and in Idaho and Montana. He personally visited all the various scenes of first historical interest throughout the Northwest with his camera, and making notes of his observations and discoveries. He collaborated with historians in this country and in Canada and was instrumental in definitely fixing many of the minor facts of Northwest history which are now accepted. His knowledge of Northwest tribal languages was of great assistance to him in his researches, and he took great care in tracing the history of the words and phrases which entered into the nomenclature of the early west.

He was not demonstrative in his actions, but was of a very generous nature in quietly extending aid to sufferers, and particularly in helping young people. He possessed an excellent memory and a keen mind, and to the solution of a problem he brought an excellent judgment and an unusual degree of "common sense." His statement of the origin of the name "Lo-lo" Pass (see *Journal of John Work*, edited by Lewis and Phillips, pp. 87-8, note) was an example of this. He had also, as the result of a long study of the Indian languages of the Northern plains, evolved a theory as to the trail origin of the name Oregon; a theory which is entitled to most respectful consideration.

Mr. Meyers was largely self-educated, as the country here offered no educational advantages to a boy in the decade between 1870 and 1880 when Mr. Meyers grew to manhood. Nature, however, had endowed him with an inquisitive mind and, becoming an omniverous reader, his technical knowledge, even of such subjects as hydraulics, engineering, etc., was surprising. Thirty-five years ago, when the Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad was being constructed through Stevens County, Mr. Meyers met, and for some weeks associated with, John F. Stevens—then in charge of locating the line from Colville north. Mr. Stevens was so impressed with his native ability in location work that he invited Mr. Meyers to join him in his railroad engineering work, and promised to teach him and to make a construction engineer out of him if he would enter his employ. Mr. Meyers thought he was then too old to learn a profession and compete with younger men of college education, so he declined.

His disposition was retiring and his modesty hid from all but a few intimate friends and associates a correct and adequate conception of his wide knowledge and remarkable intelligence; his kindness and real worth. An unhappy love affair occurring in the early 80's caused Mr. Meyers to become restless and he spent the years 1881-3 in the Kootenai district in British Columbia prospecting in association with Robert L. T. Galbraith,¹ an early locator of the coal deposits on the slope of the Rocky Mountains, in what is known as the Crow's Nest Coal District; and Robert Evan Spraulé,² who first located the famous Blue Bell³ silver-lead mine at Riondel on Kootenai Lake, B. C. Spraulé was later arrested, convicted and hung for alleged killing of Thomas Hammil, a claim jumper, relocating a claim which was an extension of the Blue Bell and in which Spraulé and Mr. Meyers were interested.⁴ Convinced of the innocence of Spraulé, Mr. Meyers spent over a year and a half in endeavoring to establish his innocence, and Mr. Meyers always maintained that Spraulé had been unfairly tried and unjustly convicted and executed.⁵

After leaving the Kootenai Country, Mr. Meyers spent the greater part of the years 1884 and 1885 about Bonner's Ferry, associated with Ed Such in prospecting and exploring the country along the Kootenai River. He spent the years 1887 and 1888 in the Pierre Lake district, and in 1889 returned to the home at Meyers Falls. His years of travel, prospecting and exploration in

1 Mr. Galbraith was one of the "old timers" in the Kootenay District and acted as Indian Agent there for many years—having died only a few years ago. A daughter, I am told, still lives at Cranbrook, B. C., where her father died and is buried.

2 The coal deposits in the Crow's Nest District were discovered by the fur traders in the early part of last century; and as long ago as 1811 Alexander Henry wrote of having noticed four seams of good coal there.

3 The Blue Bell mine is supposed to have been discovered first by the Scotch botanist, David Douglas, around the year 1825 or 1826. The early Hudson's Bay men and Indians used to make bullets from the surface ore. About 1864, during the Kootenay Lake mining excitement of those days, Mr. Geo. Hearst, afterwards U. S. Senator from California, visited the property and smelted some of the ore. In the year 1882, Robert Evan Spraulé with two companions, coming to Kootenay from Bonner's Ferry, re-discovered the mine. After staking the ledge, Spraulé at once left to record his claims at the nearest Recording Office which at that time was at Wild Horse Creek, some 240 miles distant. Under the existing Mining Laws at that time (which were framed to cover placer mining particularly) an absence of 72 hours from a claim constituted its abandonment, except in specified cases of sickness, etc. Another prospector who was in the vicinity, Thomas Hammil, took advantage of this provision of the mining laws and staked the claims after Spraulé had been absent 72 hours. Litigation followed, in which Spraulé managed to retain the Blue Bell claim but lost the other. Eventually he lost the Blue Bell, also, as it was seized by the sheriff and sold to cover the law costs. The law reports of the case recite that the claim was recorded in Spraulé's name July 31, 1882.

4 The other claim on the Blue Bell ledge, staked by Spraulé was the "Mogul" and this was recorded in the name of Gay Reeder, presumably a friend of Spraulé's. "

5 There was no eye-witness to the killing of Hammil, and the evidence against Spraulé was circumstantial. The accused was supposed to have been incensed against Hammil and was charged with having laid in wait for him and murdered him. Spraulé was eventually hanged despite strenuous efforts on the part of a number of influential people to save him. Mr. Meyers stated that Spraulé maintained until the last that he was innocent of the crime charged to him, and Mr. Meyers himself always asserted that an innocent man had been hung, and that if he, Meyers, had had the foresight to shave off his own beard so as to conceal his own identity he would have been able to secure the evidence to acquit Spraulé and to identify and convict the person guilty of the crime.

the woods and mountains had developed him into an unusual woodsman and a veritable pathfinder, and in later years he drew upon this experience in his search for the location of the long forgotten sites of the old trading posts established by the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Fur Trading Companies in the early part of the last century.⁶

The Meyers family was among the most substantial and well-to-do pioneer citizens of Northeastern Washington, and the father, Louthier W. Meyers, left a substantial estate to his children. Mr. Jacob A. Meyers was himself a shrewd and careful business man and since middle age had been in a financial condition that enabled him to live in comfort, and to enjoy his hobbies. He took a great interest in the education of boys and girls, and a quiet, unostentatious way, financially assisted several to secure higher education in colleges and universities, and occasionally used his means in doing little acts of kindness to others less fortunate than himself. He was a fine type of pioneer citizen, and the community and his friends have sustained a substantial loss through his death. He was an occasional and valued contributor to the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, and his passing forever closes a reliable and accurate source of much valuable historical information concerning the early history of the Northwest. Many readers of the *Quarterly*, who knew him personally will feel a deep and permanent loss through his death.

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.

⁶ The writer is indebted to the *Colville Examiner* for some of the material contained in this and the succeeding article on Mrs. Peter King.

REINDEER IN THE ARCTIC

The Reindeer Industry in the Arctic, the portion of Alaska lying north of the Brooks Range (Endicott Mountains) has reached a stage where it only needs transportation and a market to place it on a paying basis. This applies to the true Arctic region, for all the portion of the Territory lying south of those mountains is properly only sub-Arctic or Temperate in climate. In that area there are today more than a thousand head of marketable reindeer and each year sees an increase of at least thirty per cent on the breeding stock of females, which normally may be expected to increase the production of males in the same degree the second year following. Three years hence there may be shipped from Wainwright and Barrow at least two thousand carcasses for the markets of the United States.

The reindeer north of the mountains are not so large as are those farther south, the rigor of the climate being the main reason for this, to which may be added some degree of inbreeding owing to a lack of new breeding males and neglect of selection in the males kept. It is difficult to train a herdsman out of a savage in one generation and it has been little more than one generation since the first deer were brought to the Farthest North of Alaska. The weight of the mature male, as dressed for the market there, is between 135 and 150 pounds average. The deer of St. Lawrence Island, where the spring comes earlier and the winter is later, will average perhaps 25 pounds higher.

The first reindeer were brought to Alaska in 1891, only a trial shipment of 16 head being brought to Amaknak Island that year, to prove the feasibility of the project which had been questioned in Congress. This was done by private subscription on an appeal through four newspapers of the East. The next year 171 head were landed at Teller, on Port Clarence in the Seward Peninsula, where a station was established and named for the Secretary of the Interior. From 1892 to 1902 there were 1280 animals imported, all of them from Siberia, and from these have come all the more than three hundred and fifty thousand deer in Alaska.¹

Reindeer at the top of the continent, however, were not

¹ *Reindeer Report of Bureau of Education, Interior Department, Washington, D. C., 1906, and other years.*

brought until 1898 when a seeming misfortune proved a blessing to the Eskimo people. The summer of 1897 closed early at Point Barrow and seven whaling ships were caught by the ice within a short distance of that place, of which four were completely wrecked. When the news of the vessels being icebound reached the Capital at Washington orders were issued that officers of the revenue cutter *Bear* proceed north to the relief of the whalers who were presumably without supplies for the rigorous winter, and that they secure all available reindeer along the coast and drive them to Barrow for food for the shipwrecked people. Lieutenant D. H. Jarvis was placed in command of the relief expedition and he secured Mr. W. T. Lopp, of the Congregational Mission at Cape Prince of Wales, with his herders, to drive the deer. Most of the reindeer were from the herd of the mission or belonged to Artisarlook and his wife, the first Eskimo reindeer owners. The expedition started with 448 deer, lost or killed for food 247 animals, had an increase of fawns of 190 head, and left at Barrow the next year 391 from which the herds of Barrow and Wainwright, the most northerly stations, have increased to between 15,000 and 18,000.² The number is indefinite because there are many deer, the number not known, which are astray on the tundra, and also by reason of two of the herds being so far to the east of Barrow that reports are not received of their number.

Up to the time of the incoming of the reindeer the Eskimo people of that region were entirely dependent on the game and fish of the sea and tundra for all subsistence. They were in a strictly savage state as judged by the means of livelihood, for the whale, walrus and seal of the ocean, with the caribou of the land furnished food and clothing. They were an exclusively hunter people. The white whalers with their white winged ships had taken almost all the walrus and whale from the ocean (over two hundred and fifty ships being engaged in whaling in the Arctic Ocean in 1851) and for fifty years they combed the seas till the animals that furnished a great portion of the food of these people were swept away and the Eskimo had to turn to the caribou more and more each year. The greater burden on the caribou nearly took them from the land, in consequence the Eskimos were in dire straits for subsistence. The reindeer opened a new avenue which has alluring promises that are seemingly nearly on the verge of realization.

² *Overland Expedition to Point Barrow*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1900.

At the present nearly every Eskimo man, woman, and child has an interest in the deer, parents giving their children a reindeer for a Christmas present, often before the children can walk. At the present, to avoid a multiplicity of marks and confusion of ownership, most of the deer are held by company ownership, each individual holding shares according to the reindeer he put in. Two companies hold over 11,000 deer and from these more than 4,000 fawns were born during the season of 1925.

The range is a wide, level, treeless plain, extending from the Brooks Range, so called recently in honor of Dr. Alfred H. Brooks of the Geological Survey, one of Alaska's staunchest friends during his lifetime, to the ocean shore. It is snow-covered for nearly nine months of the year, while the remaining three months it is a vast tundra spotted with lakes and covered with mosses and grasses where the white fronted goose, the eider duck, the golden plover from far Patagonia, many varieties of sand-piper, the strange phalarope, the willow ptarmigan, myriads of the Alaska longspur, countless snow buntings and many other birds find nesting places and fill the air with their love calls. Over this the deer wander winter and summer, kept under more or less surveillance by the Eskimo herders and their Lapp dogs. The driving snows of December pack hard over the land but no storm at all is dangerous to a strong, well fed deer, for it digs down to the moss with its hoofs and thrives on it fully as well as a horse or cow will do on the best timothy or alfalfa hay, and shelter seems to be a thing not at all necessary. When they have fed sufficiently they lie down, let the snow drive against them until they look like a roughly carved block of marble grotesquely outlined against the skyline, and rest until they again go in search of moss.

The herders live in little, low, roundtopped tents that they call tupeks, or in low sod houses in some parts, but more often in the tents and occasionally a snow igloo is made. The camp must be moved often for the herd of 2,000 deer soon graze over an area surrounding the camp and must be given new range. These people have reached the nomadic or herdsmen stage and are good men for the work considering the short time that they have had for absorbing the methods and traditions of the stockman's life and way of working.

Of timber there is none, except a small quantity of driftwood on the seashore, brought from the Kobuk, the Yukon, or from far Kamchatka. The willows near the sea are but a creeper, not

daring to raise their heads above the ground. The tents are warmed by a Primus stove burning coaloil, or by a sheetiron stove, made by the owner, in which he burns coal dug from the bank of the inlet where veins of six and eight feet in thickness crop out in wide reaches. The seal oil lamp is almost never used in the present day.

The fawns are caught with a lasso in the marking season but a corral is built of ice in winter where the herds are brought to be counted. Blocks or slabs of ice a foot thick, six feet long, and two feet wide, are cut in October, are brought to the place chosen, are set on end and frozen to the earth in a continuous wall which encloses an area for the deer, not a stick of wood being used in the construction. At this corral the whole Eskimo population camps during the time the counting is going on, cooking, eating, and sleeping by the side of the herd.

There is ample range back toward the mountains to accommodate the increase of the herds for many years. There are no neighbors to crowd them for it is the last place in the domain of the United States

"Where the mountains are nameless,
And the rivers run, God knows where."

It is the last frontier, and just back of the ocean shore is many a league of level tundra which no white man has ever laid eye upon, a far, wild waste of lake and mossland, bleak and dreary, yet with a charm that is felt but not understood. The Eskimo knows how to win a living from it but there are few white men who will ever make it a home. The reindeer will, with the other natural resources of the region, make a comfortable living and afford some luxuries for the Eskimo, if the white man does not come in and crowd him off the earth as the stockman did the Indian. It is to be hoped that the Government will protect them in their grazing rights in future years.

The reindeer is to the Eskimo what the buffalo of the plains was to the Indian, and more. From its skin he gets his arteegee (parka), his pants, his boots. From its flesh he feeds his family. From its sinew his wife makes her thread, and his children sleep in robes of its skin. He drives it to his sledge during its life and if it dies it baits his traps for foxes. It gives him his couch upon which he is born, and it furnishes his shroud when he dies.

C. L. ANDREWS.

MEMBERS OF THE SEATTLE BAR WHO DIED YOUNG*

Irving Ballard was one of the young men of Washington Territory whose legal education was acquired in a practical way by reading Blackstone, Kent's *Commentaries*, Story *On The Constitution*, and other text books, and by doing clerical work in the office of a practicing lawyer. Being a diligent student, such reading and experiences added to an academic education, native talents and sterling character, qualified him for admission to the bar.

He was the oldest son of Dr. Levi W. Ballard, who laid out a town on his farm in the upper White River valley, which is now the flourishing City of Auburn. Dr. Ballard named the town "Slaughter" to honor the memory of Lieutenant Slaughter of the United States army, who was, in the Indian War of 1855-6, killed by hostile Indians in a night attack on his camp in the immediate vicinity. An Act of the Legislature changed the name of the town to Auburn. General Grant's *Personal Memoirs* narrates that Lieutenant Slaughter regretted being in the army instead of the navy because as an officer in the navy he might have had a larger share of duty on land. He had suffered from seasickness in making successive voyages to the Pacific Coast and returning to the eastern states, pursuant to orders.

Irving Ballard was born in Ohio, but with his father's family he came across the plains to southern Oregon where he lived during the period of his youth; when he was twenty years of age, the family moved to the White River farm, and then he was a teacher of country district schools for several years. In boarding around the district, the teacher was a respected guest in the homes of his pupils, which was a polishing experience for a young teacher. His manners were observed by juvenile critics, and he acquired the art of conversation under a sense of responsibility for unwise utterances, for sayings of the teacher made matter for gossip and discussion in the neighborhood.

Mr. Ballard was a student and clerk in the office of one of the prominent lawyers of Portland, Oregon. He was a business man as well as a good lawyer. After admission to the bar he acquired ownership of the steamboat *Zephyr*, and while he practiced law as the senior member of the firm of Ballard & Inman

*In the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April, 1925, pages 122 to 131, Judge Hanford discussed another group of Seattle lawyers under the same title.

at Seattle and Steilacoom, his brother, Captain William Rankin Ballard operated the steamboat, making tri-weekly trips on the route from Seattle to Olympia, which was a profitable business. We traveled on the *Zephyr* in going to the Supreme Court, which consumed one whole day going and another returning.

In 1878 Mr. Ballard was elected Prosecuting Attorney for the Third Judicial District, which comprised all the Puget Sound Counties north of Thurston; terms of the District Court were held twice annually at Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Townsend and Snohomish City. He was re-elected in 1880, but died during that second term, in the 36th year of his age. He was married to an estimable lady, and surviving him are four sons and one daughter.

Henry E. Hathaway, when a youth, came to Seattle from Connecticut. Enroute he was shipwrecked, being a passenger on the steamship *Golden Rule*, which in 1865 grounded upon a reef on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Nicaragua. He was a student in the University of Washington Territory when Rev. George F. Whitworth was President of it. During many years that institution struggled to exist, and owing to periodical suspensions for lack of funds to sustain it, Hathaway was deprived of opportunity to complete a college education. He was studious, and by self-education qualified himself as a public school teacher. Then for several years he alternated between teaching and working as a farm hand.

He studied law in the office of Waldo M. York, who was then the Probate Judge of King County, and was admitted to the bar. He became Judge York's successor in the office of Probate Judge. His law practice was mostly office business, which was lucrative, and he prospered financially. He was married to one of the daughters of Charles D. Emery, a Seattle lawyer. Major Emery Hathaway of the United States army, is the oldest son of that marriage.

I remember the occasion of my last meeting with Henry Hathaway. It was in the time of the anti-Chinese agitation, and he was doing a citizen's duty as one of Sheriff McGraw's host of deputies. He died soon after that disturbance.

Miss Lelia J. Robinson was the first lady member of our bar. She had been unsuccessful in contending for the privileges and honors of an attorney in Massachusetts, so she came here in 1884 while the female suffrage law of Washington Territory

was in force, which was subsequently by a decision of the Supreme Court declared to be invalid. Here she was admitted to practice, and her brother attorneys treated her with courtesy and respect. Judge Greene appointed her to defend an impecunious Chinaman indicted for smuggling. I prosecuted and made a good case against the defendant, but the persuasion of his charming defender won a verdict of "Not guilty." There was no effort to restrain the score of women in the court room from making a noisy demonstration of their joy.

In defending a suit for divorce on the ground of abusive treatment, Miss Robinson persisted in cross examination of the weeping plaintiff to the point of requiring her to tell the very words of the brutal husband that constituted brutal treatment. Her success in that respect elicited an answer that was shocking, and won the divorce. In my experience I have observed many cases lost by unwise cross examination on vital points, where witnesses manifested unwillingness to divulge important facts.

Miss Robinson did not remain out west very long. I have been informed that her ambition to break down the rule excluding women from the legal profession in Massachusetts was rewarded by success, and that she died young; this may be a mistake as to the fact of her death.

George H. Fortson was a young man whose fine presence, character, abilities and habits bespoke a bright career as a lawyer. He came from the State of Georgia, and was admitted to practice in 1889. He was too modest to become conspicuous during the period of hard times that prevailed, prior to the sensational revival of business activity in 1897, but by industry and faithfulness earned a reputation as a capable lawyer, and he was an efficient officer of Company B of the National Guard. He married one of the daughters of George F. Frye, who was one of the pioneers of Seattle. In 1898, as Captain of Company B, he went with the First Washington Regiment to the Philippine Islands. The regiment made a fine record there in arduous service, and participated in battles with the insurrectos that were incidental to acquisition of those islands by the United States. Among the casualties of the regiment in that stage of the Spanish-American war, Captain Fortson was killed while in performance of a soldier's duty.

Fred Rice Rowell was another popular lawyer of Seattle whose career was cut short by early death. He came from the State of Maine, after five years of practice in that state, and was admitted to practice here in 1888. He was a graduate of Colby

College, and a well educated lawyer. He had patriotic pride in his ancestry, being a descendant of Americans who were patriots in the time of the Revolutionary war. He was President of the Washington State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and a Vestryman of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, when his death occurred, April 27th, 1904.

General Eugene M. Carr was one of the most highly esteemed men who practiced at our bar. "Law is a jealous mistress," and devotion to it is essential to attainment of high rank as a lawyer. Carr was a rover. Affectionate regard for him, which was general, must be attributed to his activities in public affairs, and his genial disposition. He was a sincere friend, a good sport, good fighter and all kinds of a good man; highly educated, and a good case lawyer, but he never settled down to make law practice as his exclusive occupation.

He was a graduate of Norwich University, Vermont's military institution, also, a graduate of Columbia Law School. In seeking a location he went to Arizona, and was for a short time Clerk of the Circuit Court at Tombstone in that Territory. In 1883, he was a pioneer in Alaska, among the first of Americans to traverse the Chilcoot Pass, and in 1884, he came to Seattle and entered into partnership with Harold Preston. At that time Seattle was an attractive point for young men recently graduated from college. The City was growing and persevering young lawyers managed to exist in competition for a share of the business obtainable. Carr took an active part in community affairs—especially the military. The National Guard was not organized, but a company, called the Seattle Rifles existed, of which he was Second Lieutenant.

In the summer of 1885, the anti-Chinese agitation began and persisted in a way that led to disturbance of public tranquility. The agitators were successful in enlisting the coal miners, the unemployed and transient sojourners in a movement to expel all Chinese inhabitants from Puget Sound. To resist that movement, Mayor Yesler, Sheriff McGraw and citizens took a firm stand and prepared to combat lawlessness, the effect of which was failure to carry out the expulsion program in Seattle, as it was in Tacoma, where a mob did drive all the Chinese from that City and burned their habitations. After that occurrence, a meeting in Frye's opera house was held, which was designed for friendly discussion of the situation, in the hope of uniting the people on a line of policy favorable to maintenance of law and order. The

first speakers in the meeting were of the anti-Chinese element and arrogant in declaring "The Chinese must go," peaceably, or else by compulsion. When Judge Thomas Burke was introduced to answer those speeches, he was greeted by a hostile demonstration; part of the crowd was there, not to hear reason but to sway the meeting adversely to the purpose for which it was designed. A man named McGrath was the loudest noisemaker; Carr and myself were together, near him in the back part of the house—we quickly moved to positions on either side of that man—I did not hear what Carr said to him, but he subsided, and the demonstration was partly subdued. Then, George Venable Smith, a leader of the anti's, commenced to make a plea for free speech. Judge Burke resented that officiousness, and by the magnetic power of an orator silenced the audience. He boldly denounced disloyalty, and warned wage earners of the evils to come upon them as consequences of lawlessness overriding law, existing for protection of the weak and defenseless. The effect of that mass meeting was only to emphasize the antagonism between different elements of the community.

The Chinese inhabitants of Seattle were not molested immediately, but on the 7th day of February, 1886, a determined effort was made to drive them out of the City. Sheriff McGraw's force of armed deputies had been organized in companies of Home Guards, and Carr was Captain of one of those companies. The Anti-Chinese Committee had arranged for transportation of the Chinese to San Francisco on the steamship *Queen*, and succeeded in driving them to the dock where that vessel was moored, but embarkation was halted by a writ of habeas corpus, which required them to be brought before Judge Greene, the following morning, and then, they were kept on the dock, guarded by a committee of the anti's. At midnight, Carr with his company, took possession of the dock, and early the next morning warrants for arrest of the committee were placed in his hands. After lodging the committee in the county jail, he joined the main body of Home Guards, under command of Captain George Kinnear, which then escorted the Chinese to the Court House. At the conclusion of Court proceedings they were all escorted back to the dock where their portable belongings had been left. Some of them departed on the *Queen*, and about two hundred who chose to remain were escorted back to their habitations, but enroute, at the intersection of Main Street and First Avenue a mob was encountered, and an attempt was made to seize guns in the hands

of Home Guards. A few shots were exchanged, and a leader of the mob, named Stewart, was mortally wounded. Captain Kinnear ranged the Home Guards in a line across First Avenue, facing the mob and protecting the Chinese behind it. The company of Seattle Rifles came and executed the order of its Captain—"With ball cartridges load," and Captain J. C. Haines with Company D marched through the mob. Captain Kinnear selected two of his men to push the rioters back for a space in front of his line. One man shouted for a rush to seize the guns. There would have been more blood shed if such an attempt had been repeated, but the response was a call for that man to lead the rush, and he replied, "I am not a leader." Then, a speech was called for and a box to stand on was produced. John Keane stepped upon it, but instead of rousing the crowd to fury he said: "There's been trouble enough this day, all of you go to your homes." Then, there being no further manifestation of disposition to obstruct them, the Chinese proceeded to their quarters, and the Home Guards marched to the Court House where citizens were holding a conference with Judge Greene and Governor Watson C. Squire.

While that conference was being held, a constable came with a warrant for the arrest of Carr, Judge Burke, Frank Hanford, D. H. Webster and Rev. L. A. Banks for alleged murder, issued by G. A. Hill, a Justice of the Peace. The obvious purpose of it was to get those men separated from the ranks of the Home Guards, so that the mob might lay hands upon them. The man who made the affidavit on which the warrant was based, has never been identified. The constable was detained until the City was put under martial law by Governor Squire's proclamation, which prevented him from arresting either of those men. Subsequently, all of them except the clergyman gave bail for their appearance in Court to answer the accusation. At the next ensuing term of Court a grand jury took cognizance of the case and made a report, exonerating each of them. In fact, they did not kill Stewart, or fire a shot at the time of the riot.

General John Gibbon came to Seattle with a battalion of the 14th U. S. Infantry, and he governed the City two weeks while martial law was in force. During that time the police force was re-organized, and the National Guard of Washington Territory was organized, which included a new company of loyal citizens, designated as Company E. Carr was its Captain and ten other Seattle lawyers were enrolled as members of it. They were R. B. Albertson, George Hyde Preston, Harold Preston, Joseph F. Mc-

Naught, Eben S. Osborne, A. E. Hanford, C. H. Hanford, W. A. Peters, H. M. Hoyt and W. D. Wood. Carr continued to serve as an officer of the National Guard ten years, and was successively Assistant Adjutant General, and commander of it with the rank of Brigadier General. The honor of that highest rank was conferred upon him by Governor McGraw.

When the Northern Pacific branch line over the Cascade Mountains from Pasco to Tacoma was being constructed, Carr was employed several months in that railroad work. About that time, he was married to Miss Alice Preston. He was in active practice as a member of the firm of Carr & Preston until his departure for the Yukon River in 1897, and he served one term as Prosecuting Attorney for King County, immediately after the State Government superseded Washington Territory.

In July, 1897, a ton of gold taken from Klondike Creek in the upper Yukon River country was brought to Seattle by the steamship *Portland*, and then the lure of that northland was irresistible. Carr had been in the region of the discovery in 1883, and was eager to get ahead of the multitude of argonauts in haste to go there. The *Portland* was berthed for a return voyage to St. Michael, and he decided to go in, by the reverse way that the gold had come out, that is by taking passage on ship to the mouth of the Yukon River and thence by river steamer to Dawson. The ship was loaded to capacity by passengers and their outfits, Carr and Ex-Governor McGraw included. They were disappointed by failure of the river steamer to reach destination before navigation of the river was closed for the season by ice, and were obliged to spend the long winter at a place called Rampart in the interior of Alaska. In that latitude the seasons alternate between daylight and darkness. In the former there is light sufficient for taking photographs from two o'clock A. M. until ten o'clock P. M. and darkness prevails a corresponding number of hours, nearly half of the year. Rampart was shut in. No communication with the outside world was possible, and there was seldom any wind to make a noise. Awful stillness added to black darkness made the period of detention extremely gloomy. The presence of a woman gave more cheeriness than anything else in the camp; she did not have a coffee mill, so to have coffee ground, made frequent errands to the cabin occupied by Carr, the Governor and their associates, and chatted pleasantly while the grinding was being done. Grinding the lady's coffee was a

privilege enjoyed so much that the men claimed it in rotation. Every one jealously insisted on having his chance.

Coffee was precious in that country. On a prospecting trip using a dog team and sled for hauling tools, blankets and grub, an accident caused the spilling of coffee on the moss covered ground. Carr assumed the task of picking up the grains, and persisted until it was finished despite being urged to move on. He had to recover the last grain before he would desist.

In the winter of 1898, after the last opportunity for passage home by any kind of public service carrier, Carr wanted to come home, and what he wanted to do, he would do. What everybody else regarded as impossible, was not so to him, and obvious danger hindered him not. With a dog team he made the perilous journey from the interior of Alaska to the coast, traversing uninhabited country destitute of roads, braving snow, ice, intense cold and winter storms, and in the most dangerous part of the way he had no companion except his dogs.

The mining venture was not abandoned, with Mrs. Carr he returned to his claim on Little Menook Creek, and they remained there one year, the reward for which was in experience rather than in any considerable amount of gold. Mrs. Carr said that, "it was a wonderful experience, we were very comfortably and happily situated." Too much at home, a husband is apt to become a nuisance, but for connubial bliss, house a couple in a rustic cabin where lodge meetings do not entice him from his home fire-side, and pink teas, gossiping clubs and bridge parties do not engross the wife's intellectual activities. In the long winter spent together in that region, the light of their smiling faces dispelled darkness of the northland.

In the summer of 1900, Carr's half brother, and a cousin were drowned in Lake Washington. The cousin, Clark M. Carr, was a young lawyer who had recently come from Illinois, and had barely entered upon his profession. To find the bodies in Lake Washington was a difficult undertaking, but it was characteristic of Carr to exert his energy in an effort to accomplish it. He did that, and was successful in recovering both of them. On a previous occasion, when G. Morris Haller, Dr. Thomas T. Minor and Louis Cox were drowned in Puget Sound, he was the main push in the search for those bodies, which was rewarded by success in recovering two of them.

After his perilous trip homeward from Alaska, he proved his

ability as a case lawyer, in a number of important trials. I recall one case tried before me in the Federal Court, in which he took a leading part; I remember that case especially because I was impressed by the masterful and thorough development of the merits on his part. At one stage of the trial I admonished him for consuming too much time in eliciting testimony bearing on mere details. When Court adjourned for recess, he came to me protesting that he knew the importance of details, and that time sufficient to clarify the case was not time wasted.

He went to Alaska again in 1905, taking Mrs. Carr with him, and practiced law at Fairbanks, and was United States Commissioner there three years.

When he came back finally he gave more attention to a farm in Yakima County than to professional business. It is a peculiar circumstance that, a survivor of many perils in wilderness regions, was accidentally killed upon his own doorstep. He was alone at the farm when ice upon the doorstep caused him to fall, whereby he was fatally injured, in fact, instantly killed. A brief obituary contained in proceedings of the Washington State Bar Association of the year 1914, erroneously states that he dropped dead of apoplexy, but on a post mortem examination, it was found that his neck was broken. Thus, on the 20th day of January, 1914, the life of a noble man was ended.

C. H. HANFORD.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF 1878

In the years 1918-1919 Professor Edmond S. Meany and Dean John T. Condon, of the University of Washington, published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* a series of articles entitled *Washington's First Constitution, 1878, and Proceedings of the Convention*. These articles included not only the proceedings of the convention, as published in the *Walla Walla Union* at the time the convention was in session, but also the text of the constitution, together with an introduction by Professor Meany and annotations by Professor Meany and Dean Condon. Subsequently the entire work was published in pamphlet form and has proved to be of great value to students of the political history of Washington.

At the time the constitutional convention was being held in Walla Walla, in the summer of 1878, there was only one newspaper in existence in Eastern Washington north of Snake River. This was the *Palouse Gazette*, the first number of which came from the press in Colfax on September 29, 1877. The *Gazette* was a weekly newspaper, published by Lucien E. Kellogg and Charles B. Hopkins. As this newspaper was the only representative of "journalistic opinion" in the "upper country," I have recently examined the first two volumes with a view to ascertaining, if possible, what its opinion was on the subject of statehood.¹ As a result of that investigation, I am offering herewith some "additional notes" on the constitution of 1878. Some of the information herein set forth differs slightly² from that gathered by Professor Meany and Dean Condon, and in one instance I have used a document which apparently was not available to these men. This is the official proclamation of Governor Elisha P. Ferry, announcing the results of the election of November 5, 1878.

On February 16, 1878, as the time for choosing the delegates to the convention drew near,³ the *Palouse Gazette* expressed itself editorially as follows:

¹ I am indebted to the Bramwell Bros., publishers of the *Colfax Gazette*, for the use of their file.

² Compare the vote, as announced in Governor Ferry's proclamation, *infra*, with the returns compiled by the *Oregonian*. See *Washington's First Constitution, 1878, and Proceedings of the convention*, p. 62. Also note the slight difference between the total vote given in the two places for Whitman County. In the governor's proclamation the vote of the three counties of Northern Idaho is given.

³ The election to choose delegates was held on April 9, 1878.

"We had hoped that the men chosen to the high and important trust of framing a constitution for the future State of Washington, to be submitted to the people for rejection or adoption, might enter upon their work unfettered by political obligations or feeling that they should be guided by former party predilections. Present indications, however, show unmistakable signs of a close adherence to political parties in the selection of those delegates. Already the press of both political parties are calling conventions for the nomination of partisan delegates, and there are reasons to warrant the belief that Republicans and Democrats will exert their utmost power to gain the ascendancy of strength in the convention. Right here will be found the great mistake; whatever may be the result of such a body's deliberations will be received with suspicion and distrust by the mass of people to whom the instrument will be submitted—and the people should look well to the production of that convention. It is to be the chart by which a great and intelligent people are to be guided in future years, upon which depends in a great measure the degree of prosperity the new state is to enjoy. We would like to see the representative men of both parties come together and agree upon the persons that are best fitted by their sound, common sense and practical capacity to frame a constitution that will bear all legal tests and be worthy of the State of Washington. Let not this important trust be placed in the hands of those who make politics a trade, only to incur a great expense upon the territory, and receive the just reproof of the people."

On March 9 the *Gazette* gave editorial approval to the choice of the Republican party, Captain James Ewart of Colfax, as the representative for the counties of Whitman, Stevens and Columbia. Three weeks later, when James V. O'Dell, an attorney of Colfax, announced himself as an independent candidate, the *Gazette* also spoke in favorable terms of his candidacy. Thereafter it remained silent on this question, assuming a position of "strict neutrality."⁴

"There is a universal feeling of indifference on the part of the mass of people in regard to next Tuesday's election," declared the *Gazette* of April 6. "So utterly oblivious do they seem that it will not be surprising if there be no vote cast. This indifference is not confined to Whitman County or to Eastern Washington, but all over the territory. If we are to be admitted into the

⁴ Editorial, *Palouse Gazette*, March 30, 1878.

Union as the thirty-ninth state, it is highly important who are elected to make the constitution."

Two weeks later, in announcing the election returns for Whitman County, the *Gazette* stated that a "very light vote was cast, giving no idea of the voting population of the county." The following returns were made:

For Delegates at Large

W. A. George	269
A. J. Cain.....	5
S. M. Gillmore.....	156
Edward Eldridge	152

First District

S. M. Wait.....	263
W. S. Gillmore.....	6
A. J. Cain.....	1
Joint Council District (Whitman, Stevens and Columbia Counties)	

James V. O'Dell.....	151
James Ewart	147
Against Railroad Subsidy.....	71
For Railroad Subsidy.....	1

Between the election of the delegates and the opening of the convention in the following June the *Gazette* paid little attention to the proposed constitution. On June 8 it announced that on "next Tuesday the delegates elected to form a state constitution for this territory will meet in Walla Walla to enter upon their duties. This delegation is composed of the best men in the territory, many of them being lawyers of recognized ability and experience. The political complexion of the convention is eight Republicans and seven Democrats,⁵ but as party lines were entirely ignored in the election of delegates, it is hoped they may be in the convention."

Complete reports of the work of the convention did not find space in the Colfax newspaper, but occasionally a correspondent who signed himself *Ariel* contributed articles to the *Gazette*. On June 17 he wrote as follows:

"Mrs. A. J. Duniway petitioned the convention for leave to read a 'Memorial' to that body; considerable opposition was made to this proceeding by Messrs. Larrabee, Hannah and O'Dell, but

⁵ The *Walla Walla Union* called the convention "another electoral commission." Quoted in *Palouse Gazette*, June 8, 1878. The Hayes-Tilden contest was apparently still fresh in the minds of the people.

the leave was granted by a vote of ayes and nays, resulting in 7 ayes to 6 nays, so on yesterday at 10 o'clock, that lady proceeded with her show—and instead of a 'memorial' we were regaled with a regular stump speech, and tonight she holds forth at the Unitarian church, in what she is pleased to call 'an argument' in favor of woman suffrage."⁶

On June 26, in reference to the question of boundaries, *Ariel* wrote as follows:

"On Saturday last the committee on boundaries made their report. In the boundaries they included the three northern counties of Idaho. When this article came up for consideration, Mr. Larrabee moved an amendment, striking out that part of the section including the counties of Northern Idaho, and bounding the state by lines as they now define Washington Territory. Upon this proposition a long and heated discussion ensued between Messrs. O'Dell and Leland in favor of the boundaries as reported by the committee, and Messrs. Larrabee and Bradshaw opposed to it. The discussion lasted for two days, when upon the final vote the report of the committee was adopted by a vote of ayes, 11, noes 3."⁷

The question of boundaries was one full of political dynamite, for there was at this time a strong opinion in the country north of Snake River, and perhaps throughout Washington Territory as a whole, in favor of the annexation of Northern Idaho to Washington. So, in order to correct the misrepresentation contained in *Ariel's* dispatch, Mr. Larrabee wrote on July 10 the following letter to the editors of the *Gazette*:

"Hall of Constitutional Convention

"Walla Walla, W. T., July 10, 1878

"EDS. PALOUSE GAZETTE—In your last issue your Walla Walla correspondent represents Messrs. Abernethy, Bradshaw and myself as voting against the incorporation of Northern Idaho into the State of Washington. This statement places us in a false position, for not a single member of the convention has thus far offered any objection to the including that portion of Idaho. We only differ as to the best mode of accomplishing the object. The committee reported boundaries, including two counties of Idaho

⁶ Mrs. A. J. Duniway was for many years the champion in the Pacific Northwest of the woman-suffrage movement. She traveled extensively and lectured on this subject to many audiences, and, at the same time, she published in Portland, Oregon, a suffrage newspaper called the *New Northwest*. See her book entitled *Path-Breaking* (Portland, second edition, 1914). Also see *Washington's First Constitution*., p. 13. Mrs. Duniway was a sister of Harvey W. Scott, the famous editor of the *Oregonian*.

⁷ *Palouse Gazette*, July 6, 1878.

and part of a third, to which report I offered the following emendment to the boundaries of Washington Territory:

“‘Provided, however, That the following alterations of the aforesaid boundary be, and hereby is proposed to the Congress of the United States as the nearly unanimous desire of the people included therein, and as the preference of the State of Washington, and if the same shall be assented and agreed to by the Congress of the United States, then the same shall be and forever remain obligatory on the State of Washington.’”⁸ Then follows the boundaries as reported by the committee, including Idaho.

“It will be observed that this plan is not open to the objection that we are seizing upon a sister territory without her consent, and the further obligation that we have no power to provide for the conservation of public or private rights, growing out of the judgments of courts or the acquisition of property through any other means; this can be done by Congress alone. But the convention has adopted the other plan, and we shall all stand by it to the end. Yours,

Charles H. Larrabee,
Delegate from the Third Judicial District.”⁹

The text of a memorial relative to the improvement of Snake River for navigation, which was reported to the convention by Messrs. O'Dell, Bradshaw and Henry, was printed in the *Palouse Gazette* of July 26, 1878.¹⁰

The printing of the text of the constitution was commenced in the *Gazette* of August 23, but not until the following week was there editorial mention therein of this document. In the issue of August 30, answering a complaint of the editor of the *Lewiston Teller*, the *Gazette* declared:¹¹

“We have seen no reason for discussing the constitution; but that we may be plainly understood, and not accused of the despicable principle of catering approbation, let us inform the *Teller* that the *Gazette* is anxious for the annexation of Northern Idaho to Washington and the adoption of the state constitution. If the question was as to the immediate admission of the territory into

⁸ This plan proposed a line of action similar to that adopted by the Oregon constitutional convention in 1857. The Oregon convention provided for the annexation to Oregon of all that territory in Washington lying south of Snake River, with the proviso, however, that this might be changed by the Congress. When Oregon was admitted in 1859 its northern boundary as a territory was fixed as the northern boundary of the new state and the Walla Walla country was allowed to remain a part of Washington.

⁹ *Palouse Gazette*, July 20, 1878. This letter corroborates the account given in the official proceedings. *Washington's First Constitution*. . . ., p. 7.

¹⁰ See *Washington's First Constitution*. . . ., p. 24.

¹¹ Alonzo Leland, the editor of the *Teller*, had represented the Idaho counties in the convention.

the Union, we would oppose it. Or if the adoption of the constitution was to hasten it, our better judgment would compel us to oppose it. But a constitution has been framed at a cost of nearly seven thousand dollars; the people can adopt this, and Congress will judge when Washington has the necessary population to entitle her to admission."

The question of the adoption of the constitution, particularly that of annexation, became associated with a bitter contest for the delegateship between Thomas H. Brents and N. T. Caton. Both candidates expressed themselves in favor of the annexation of Northern Idaho to Washington and against the annexation of Walla Walla and Columbia Counties to Oregon. Caton declared that he favored the adoption of the constitution notwithstanding its defects.¹²

On October 4 the *Gazette* copied from the *Olympia Transcript* an editorial urging the adoption of the constitution. The *Transcript* declared: "Its opponents are mostly corporation sympathizers, office holders and official aspirants, whom it guards against, in any schemes which they may hereafter have to control the state government. It protects the masses of the people—the laboring classes—against an unjust discrimination in taxes; makes corporations liable for labor done for their benefit, and stock holders personally liable for debts of their company, as far as labor is concerned."

The *Transcript's* view was subsequently adopted by the *Gazette* for its own, and on October 11, "after considering the subject in every light," the *Gazette* urged the adoption of the constitution on these grounds: that it was as good as the constitution of any other state of the Union; that its adoption did not mean immediate admission; that to reject it would be equivalent to announcing to the people of Northern Idaho that they were not wanted in the proposed state; and lastly, that it was being opposed by the "railroads and other corporations."¹³

On November 1 the *Gazette* published the three separate articles, which dealt with the subjects of woman suffrage and local option. The first two being easily "recognized as Mrs. A. J. Dunway's woman suffrage part of the constitution," the *Gazette*, "without comment," left them to "the good sense of the people."¹⁴

¹² *Palouse Gazette*, September 27 and November 1, 1878.

¹³ The Oregon Steam Navigation Company, which controlled the Snake and the Columbia Rivers, was at this time exacting a heavy tribute of the people living in the Inland Empire. It was often referred to as a "grinding monopoly."

¹⁴ The woman-suffrage articles were as follows: No. 1—"No person, who is otherwise a qualified elector, shall be denied the right to vote in this state, on account of

With respect to the third article (local option) the *Gazette* stated: "This has been proved the most effectual way of advancing the temperance cause that has as yet been devised, and should be adopted everywhere."

As early as October 25 the *Gazette* was certain that the constitution would be approved by the people of Eastern Washington. In the issue of that date the editors declared: "While traveling about this and Stevens counties for the last two weeks, we had an opportunity of learning how the people regarded the state constitution, and found them almost unanimously in favor of adopting it. The people express themselves satisfied with this constitution, and those features of it which are so offensive to corpulent speculators make it popular with the masses.¹⁵ Eastern Washington will adopt it by a large majority."

The election returns for Whitman County, as published in the *Gazette* of November 15, 1878, follow:

Whitman County Election Returns—Official ¹⁶	
For Constitution	716
Against Constitution	116
Suffrage Articles	
For Article No. 1.....	101
Against Article No. 1.....	275
For Article No. 2.....	95
Against Article No. 2.....	267
Local Option	
For Article No. 3.....	253
Against Article No. 3.....	154

Governor Ferry's proclamation, announcing the returns for Washington and Northern Idaho, is as follows:¹⁷

Whereas, at a general election, held in the Territory of Washington on the fifth day of November, A. D., one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, there were submitted to the

sex, anything in this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding."

No. 2—"No person shall be denied the right, on account of sex, to vote or hold office in this state; nor shall such right be, in any manner, abridged on account of sex."

15 The *Palouse Gazette* of November 1, 1878, quoted the *Walla Walla Union* to the effect that Ladd & Tilton, bankers of Portland, would stop the construction of a proposed railroad in Southeastern Washington if the people of Washington adopted the proposed constitution. To this the *Gazette* replied: "This little proclamation of Oregon capitalists is alone enough to make the people of Washington arouse and show their independence by voting, to a man, for the adoption of the constitution . . . Let them take their steel rails and make them into vaults in which to treasure their silver and gold, they cannot forge them into chains with which to bind down the intelligence and independence of the people of Washington."

16 The vote in Whitman County which was recorded by the *Oregonian* was as follows: For the Constitution, 746; against the Constitution, 116. *Washington's First Constitution*, . . . , p. 62.

17 *Palouse Gazette*, February 7, 1879.

legal voters of said Territory, for adoption or rejection, a constitution for the State of Washington; and also three Separate Articles which should become a part of said constitution in the event of their adoption, and

Whereas, at a general election held in the counties of Idaho, Shoshone and Nez Perce, in the Territory of Idaho, on said fifth day of November, one thousand and eight hundred and seventy-eight, said constitution and Separate Articles were submitted for adoption or rejection to the legal voters of said counties, and

Whereas, it is made the duty of the Governor of said Territory of Washington to declare by proclamation the result of the votes cast and returned on the adoption or rejection of said Constitution and Separate Articles,

Now, therefore, I, ELISHA P. FERRY, Governor of said Territory, do hereby declare the following to be the result of the vote cast at said election in the Territory of Washington:¹⁸

For Constitution, six thousand five hundred and thirty-seven.
Against Constitution, three thousand two hundred and thirty-six.

For Separate Article No. 1, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

Against Separate Article No. 1, five thousand one hundred and seventeen.

For Sparate Article No. 2, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

Against Separate Article No. 2, five thousand and sixty-one.

For Separate Article No. 3, two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

Against Separate Article No. 3, four thousand one hundred and fifty-one.

And I do further declare the following to be the result of the votes cast in said counties of Idaho, Shoshone and Nez Perce, in the Territory of Idaho:¹⁹

For Constitution, seven hundred and thirty-seven.

Against Constitution, twenty-six.

For Separate Article No. 1, one hundred and twenty-three.

¹⁸ The totals printed in the *Oregonian* follow: For Constitution, 6,462; against Constitution, 3,231. *Washington's First Constitution*. . . ., p. 62.

¹⁹ With respect to the vote in Northern Idaho the *Lewiston Teller* stated: "There were a few who seemed wholly indifferent upon the question, but at this time we can not learn of 25 votes cast against the Constitution in the three counties. Shoshone county cast but one vote against it. Mt. Idaho, the largest precinct in Idaho county, cast but two votes against it. Lewiston, the largest precinct in Nez Perce county, cast but four votes against it. The northern precincts of this county did nearly as well." *Yashington's First Constitution*. . . ., p. 61.

Against Separate Article No. 1, two hundred and eighty-two.

For Separate Article No. 2, one hundred and twenty-two.

Against Separate Article No. 2, two hundred and eighty-two.

For Separate Article No. 3, two hundred and twenty-one.

Against Separate Article No. 3, one hundred and eighty-eight.

And I do further declare that said Constitution has been adoptd.

And I do further declare that said Article No. 1, Article No. 2, and Article No. 3 have been rejected.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the Territory to be affixed, at Olympia, this twenty-eighth day of December, A. D. 1878.

ELISHA P. FERRY,
Governor.

By the Governor,
N. H. OWINGS,
Secretary.

MONUMENT UNVEILED IN PUYALLUP

On Friday afternoon, October 30, 1925, under the auspices of the Washington State Historical Society a monument was unveiled at the north end of the Meridian Street Bridge, Puyallup. Brief addresses were made by Steve Gray, Mayor of Puyallup; Charles H. Ross, Frank R. Spinning, Robert Montgomery and F. W. Griffiths. A statement of the reasons for erecting the monument was made by W. P. Bonney, Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society as follows:

Friends:—We are gathered here today to unveil and dedicate a memorial marker, a four-sided affair, with four inscribed tablets—North-East-West, South, the initial letters of these four cardinal points of the compass—spell our word N-E-W-S.. But the inscriptions on these tablets are not news today. They hark back to the news items of seventy years ago; back to the days when John Carson, with his family, came and established his home on this spot. This was a public highway then; crude, but it served a purpose. To add to the convenience of crossing the river, Mr. Carson built a ferry boat; attached it by guy ropes to a cable which he strung over the river, so that people might cross dry-shod. By the manipulation of these guy ropes Mr. Carson utilized the current of the stream to push his ferry back and forth across the river.

He had erected a cabin in which to house his family, and began clearing and cultivating the land on which he had settled. The Puyallup Valley in those days was inhabited mainly by wild beasts and the wandering Indian. These Indians were an unknown quantity; they had lived here for untold ages without interfering with natural conditions, they resented the activities of the white men, coming into their country and by civilizing industry usurping the homes of their fathers.

A school, District No. 3, had been organized here during June, 1854, and by vote of the School Board a school house was ordered built on the claim of John Carson. This house was to have been "24x34 feet with eleven foot story" and "to be built with lumber." The records show that "it was not built because of the Indian war." One night in October, 1855, Abraham Salatat, a friendly Indian, rode through the valley, and gave warning to white settlers of an Indian uprising. This warning doubtless

saved many lives; the words spoken by Salatát were earnest. They carried conviction and the people heeded. He is reported to have been at the home of Willis Boatman in the night, and after giving the warning promptly and rapidly rode away in the direction of Carson's ferry. About three o'clock next morning, Ezra Meeker and family, then living on the edge of the prairie, received their warning—by a man on horseback who called to them through the window, and then rode away.

We do not know just how many warnings Salatát did give; but the settlers of the Puyallup Valley, by promptly going to Steilacoom were saved, despite the fact that every home in the Valley, save one, was burned. Just how long Salatát lived after the war, we do not know. There is a record in the account book kept by Hugh Pattison, the Pierce County nurseryman, of an invoice of fruit trees purchased by Abraham Salatát on the 20th of November, 1857. By 1858 the Indians had quieted down enough so that some of the settlers, including the Carson family, felt that they dared come back to their homes. During February, 1856, under orders by Colonel Casey, the commandant at Fort Steilacoom, a blockhouse was erected on the banks of the Puyallup River, and garrisoned with regular soldiers, to protect this crossing of the river and the Carson Ferry. This was known as Fort Maloney. This building was occupied by the Carson family on their return to their home.

During the summer of 1861, Mrs. Carson taught school here. On November 11, 1861, the Board of Directors, by vote, ordered the clerk of the District to pay Mrs. E. L. Carson \$60.00; \$33.55 had been received by the clerk from the County Treasurer, S. McCaw, on the fourth of November and \$33.50 of this was paid to Mrs. Carson on the 11th, the day the order was issued. On August 5th, 1862, another sum of money, \$19.58, came to the district from the treasurer, this time J. H. Munson. The same day it was paid to Mrs. Carson, the record stating: "Paid to E. L. Carson \$19.58 on order of directors for \$60.00." The record also shows, on this date, that there was a balance on hand of \$.05. This left a balance still due Mrs. Carson of \$6.92 which was paid to her on August 9, 1863.

Through age the Carson ferry became inoperative, and during the year 1858, under Territorial charter, Mr. Carson constructed a toll bridge across the river. This bridge was carried away by river floods during the winter of 1862-1863.

In the meantime the highway here had been adopted as a military road from Steilacoom to Bellingham. During the year 1864, the first telegraph wire through the State was strung over this road.

Had there been room for one more tablet on the pyramid, we would have told of the first postoffice in the Puyallup Valley being established here through the influence of James P. Stewart. It was known as Franklin Post Office, and was the fourth established in Pierce County, the others being Steilacoom, Nisqually and Spanaway.

This Franklin Post Office was a migratory affair, sometimes on this side of the river and sometimes on the other. John Carson was the first Postmaster. Early in 1862, James P. Stewart was appointed. He named John Walker deputy, and the office was moved up the river to the Walker place. Walker donated eighteen acres of land to Stewart, with the understanding that he, Stewart, would establish a store, which he did, and moved the Post Office into it. Later the store was closed, and the Post Office was moved back down the river, just across from the Carson place. Mail was brought to Franklin from Steilacoom by horseback. A little later the line was extended to Seattle; from Steilacoom to Seattle via Franklin one day, back the next, once a week. Sam Bonney rode the line for a while. Later it was covered by Cornelius H. Hanford. By 1873, George T. Vinning, having established a store on the Carson place, was appointed Postmaster, and once more the office was moved, this time to the Vinning store, which was less than 100 feet from this marker. In November, 1875, Mr. Vinning started to San Francisco on the Steamer *Pacific*. The boat was sunk in a collision about forty miles out from Victoria. Out of 250 persons known to have been on board, only two reached shore alive. The Franklin Post Office was discontinued in 1876, Sumner and Puyallup taking its place.

W. P. BONNEY.

OLDEST PIONEER LAID TO REST

Mrs. Mary Ann King, a pioneer of the Colville Valley, who died at the Catholic Home for the Aged at Wendle, Idaho, October 28, 1925, was buried Wednesday, November 4, 1925, at Chewelah by the side of her husband, Peter King, who died in 1887. Mrs. Peter King was born in 1821 prior to the establishment of Fort Colville and had lived in Colville Valley eighty-four years.

Mrs. King was the daughter of Patrick and Mary Finley, natives of Canada, and Washington, in those early days of the fur trade when this whole region was vaguely known as the "Oregon Country" or the "Columbia District" of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories.

Her grandfather was Jacob Finlay, associate of the intrepid explorer, David Thompson, whom Jacco doubtless preceded in exploring the headwaters of the Columbia River and its Kootenai branch. His family name is perpetuated in Finlay's River, a northern branch of the Peace River, and his own name in Jacco Creek, Missoula County, Montana, and in Finley (Finlay) Creek, a northern tributary of the Kootenai River near Columbia Lake in British Columbia. John Work's Journal for the year 1828, published in the Washington Historical Quarterly, records the death of Jacco Finlay at Spokane House in that year.

Jacco Finlay had a large family, all of whom were probably born East of the Mountains in the vicinity of Fort Edmonton: Patrick, Eustance, Paul, Jim, Misquotham, Margaret and Rose. Mrs. King, the deceased, was a younger daughter of the oldest son, Patrick Finlay. Her father settled among the Indians in the Colville Valley and married a native woman there in 1820 and Mary Ann Finlay was born, according to family record, in 1821, being thus 104 years old at the time of her death. Patrick Finlay had a large family of sons and daughters, who like others of the numerous Finlay family were noted for their comely looks and their fine physique; many of the family possessed light blue eyes. The men of the family were characteristically competent and trustworthy, and the daughters fine wives and mothers.

Mary Ann Finlay was married at the age of nineteen. Her husband, Peter King, born in Quebec in 1820, came to the Hud-

son's Bay Post in the '40s and was a blacksmith with the company for several years, settling in 1851 on land three miles northwest of the present town of Chewelah, which land he secured from his wife's father.

Mr. and Mrs. King were the parents of eleven children. Four daughters are living: Mrs. Sophia Regenry, Grand Forks, B. C.; Mrs. Mary L. Conrady, wife of C. F. Conrady, former resident of Colville, now living at Priest River, Idaho; Mrs. Julia M. McLeod, wife of Frank McLeod, living in Montana; Mrs. Louise Roberts, wife of Randolph Roberts, living in Stevens County. The address of another, Martina, is unknown.¹

Peter King was a Frenchman, a man of small stature, a very good mechanic, a carpenter and a blacksmith. The old Peter King estate, lying about three miles north of Chewelah, was one of the earliest settled places in the State of Washington. He had one of the largest hewed log houses with a double fireplace, with beautiful moulding adorning it, all hand-made. All his furniture was also hand-made. This log house with its unusually large front room was the scene of many a social dance, as those young ladies, his daughters, always drew a large crowd. His other farm buildings were likewise all hewed logs well put up, and as he was a blacksmith, and had the only private blacksmith outfit in the country at that time, he made his own door hinges and hardware. He had all hewed timber for gates and iron hinges, while the rest of the country had only bars. The whole place showed the efforts of an old time skilled craftsman.

Peter King had all a Frenchman's gayety and love of show and used to ride in a top buggy up and down this Colville Valley seventy-five years ago. No doubt he must have been a gay sport in his day, and enjoyed his courting just as much as anyone at the present time in his high powered car. He engaged in farming and stock raising on the old farm until his death in 1887.

After the death of her husband Mrs. King continued to reside on the old home place near Chewelah until old age forced her to leave the farm. This place was sold in 1918 to Fred Stern of Davenport, Washington. On the farm at the time was a cabin which had stood there for nearly a century.

Mrs. King had managed her place the best she knew how, but always lived within her income. At times it looked like a "widow's place", but she kept it clear of any encumbrance. Hers

¹ See hereon, *History of Northwest Washington*, page 394.

was one of the very few farms in the valley on which there never was a mortgage recorded. She was an excellent example of that best of Indian character and Indian blood in this country that never had any charity. She had provided for herself, even her funeral expenses, and lived to be one hundred and four years old. Some of the mixed blood in the early days were indolent, but the King family, especially the girls (they are old women now) were known as hard working and thrifty. Mrs. King in her day was one of the very best of women to tan a deer hide, make moccasins, gloves and when it came to fancy bead work she was second to none.

After the railroad was built into the Colville Valley nearly all the Indian settlers were crowded out and lost their lands and were forced to go onto the reservations, but Mrs. King stayed. Her self pride tempted her to stay with the whites; and her native shrewdness was sufficient to protect her property from the covetous and scheming white men who would have possessed her lands. Often she remarked "Me not seel, no place, no home." She was a true devoted Christian, a strong adherent to the Catholic church. Over forty years she was a widow. Though she had many a chance to get married again, she remained a widow. She had always kept herself clear of any trouble or scandal, and her character was beyond any reproach. She was of mixed blood, far above the average, and very few like her inherited the good traits of both her ancestors. She was slow in choosing friends, but once she established friendship with any one, she was as true as steel. She was free from care or worry. On the other hand she possessed a great self pride, and also an economic thrift, that many a person would envy. She never had any opportunity for education, but her native wit and intelligence lifted her above the average of her contemporaries.

With the passing of Mrs. Mary Ann King, the present generation says only: "another old timer gone", but to the old pioneers she is of deeper interest, as she recalls the days when everyone knew everyone else throughout the entire valley, and when all were, so to say, one great family. Very few people were permitted to see as much change take place in a country as she did, from the time when the aborigines held full sway over this entire domain, till this country developed and progressed to its present state. She lived longer on the same place than any other person did in this county, and maybe in this entire northwest. Some

years ago when already far beyond the allotted age of man, Mrs. King retired to spend her last days in the Catholic Home for the Aged at Wendle, Idaho. The funeral rites were conducted at the Catholic church in Chewelah, and her remains now rest beside those of her husband. In age she was, at the time of her death, Washington's oldest daughter.

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.

DOCUMENTS

DIARY OF WILKES IN THE NORTHWEST

[*Continued from Volume XVI., Page 301*]

[June, 1841.]

The Willamette is generally about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile wide for about 4 miles from its entrance into the Col^a. the banks are low and during the freshet overflow the water was backed into the Willamette & we found little current to contend with. Afterwards they became high and precipitous, in very few places susceptible of cultivation. At Sunset we encamped on one of the Island (Oak Island) Near by the Young Americans who are building their boat who had crossed the country about a year since & resided in the Willamette They were 8 in numbers, and are disgusted with the country and determined to quit it at all hazards everybody that I heard speak of them gave them a good name. They are now building their boat, one among them having served sometime at that business The rest all assist in it. They have chosen a good spot for it in an oak grove, and their cedar of which the planking is made is also near at hand. They seem industrious and full of spirit and although difficulties apparently the most insurmountable are before them yet they have no fear but what they will all be overcome. I found them in difficulty with Dr. McL. as when one had gotten articles under false pretenses and he very properly refused to let them have any more. I represented this in its proper light and justified Dr. McL. and also advised them if it were true as they expressed that they have had no hand in the deception to call [Ms. P. 87] and tell him so, and I was sure he would do everything in his power. This they subsequently did and received every assistance that lay in his power to give.

I felt proud to witness the spirit they evinced & the buoyancy of spirit with which they carried on their plan so truly in character with their countrymen.

Subsequently to my leaving the Col^a. they wrote me asking a sea letter for their protection and informed me their boat was

launched, met their expectations and was called the Star of Oregon.⁹¹

There is large quantities of this oak (white) in about the Willamette Valley and is applied not only to the use for which we apply oak but also to those of hickory it is the only timber that is considered here durable enough its specific gravity is much greater than that of water.

5th June.

We reached the Willamette falls here we found another of the Missionaries settled and in competition with the H. B. Co. in putting up salmon for the market or sale his name is Mr. Waller.⁹² He does little from his own account with the Indians and is at war with the Catholic priest about the . . . the latter having from his account gotten the ascendancy. Mr. W.'s wife is one of those peculiar bodies that will not suffer any part of her house to be soiled many minutes, although all is of the roughest material. Her management of her cooking stove fairly excited my admiration, no engineer ever knew his engine better or could manage it with more adroitness. She well knew on which side the heat was operating & by a proper turning gesture &c. &c. dinner was served consisting of salmon, Tea & bread & butter it evidently showed the woman's determination to carry what she had been brought up to along with her [Ms. P. 87a] in whatever part of the world she might go. After we had partaken of this our repast, Mr. Waller took me to see the falls & the situation for—mills that had been selected by the Company who have gone to considerable expense in blasting the rock for a mill race, for what reason I know not but the work has been left untouched as I understand for some years.⁹³ Mr. Slacum has had a house built at this point to secure the mill site. An old man

⁹¹ The story of the *Star of Oregon* is an interesting chapter in Northwesten History. It is beautifully told in *Bancroft's History of Oregon*, Volume I., pages 247-248. The names of the eight young men are Joseph Gale, Felix Hathaway, Henry Wood, R. L. Kilborne, Pleasant Armstrong, John Green, George Davis, and Charles Matts. One of the number, Henry Wood, seems to have given offense and was expelled from the company. Wilkes succeeded in compromising matters and persuaded Doctor McLoughlin to sell the necessary rigging. A successful voyage was made to California where the schooner was sold, cattle was purchased and the young men returned to Oregon driving the cattle with them. The leader or captain was Joseph Gale. Two years later he was one of the Executive Committee of three serving in place of a governor under the Provisional Government of Oregon. His daughter, Mrs. Frances Ellen (Gale) Page, after a remarkable life of many years, died in Seattle in the present year, 1925. Her biography was published in the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* on May 29, 1920. On that occasion she related much of the history of her distinguished father.

⁹² Rev. Alvan F. Waller, one of the large reenforcement that had arrived on the *Lausanne* in 1840.

⁹³ Frederick V. Holman has discussed definitely and at length Dr. McLoughlin's Land Claim in his *Dr. John McLoughlin*, beginning at page 101. The injustice involved is a sad memory for Oregon pioneers. Mr. Holman has there rendered a real service in setting down the record after the manner of a trained lawyer.

by the name of Moore had effected what he terms the purchase of the opposite side of the River.

The falls of the Willamette are 20 feet in height and the water is sometimes so high in the river as to make it possible to run them [the falls] with canoes but this must be seldom the case. We were much diverted with the salmon leaping the falls it is inconceivable how they have force enough to stem the water. about one in 10 would succeed leaping out of the foam beneath and jumping about $2/3^{ds}$. up passing as it were the apex of running water those that did so got by, but all who fell short, were thrown back into the Basin beneath.⁹⁴ Great knots of Lamprey eels were to be seen worming themselves up the rocks.

The scenery here is pretty, the Rocks are all volcanic scoria & pudding stone mixed with trap many quartz crystals are found in the rocks.

Mr. Moore took this rock for veritable Iron ore and was making his boasts of the prize he had got & of his intention to erect Iron furnaces, &c, &c.

At the falls we made a portage & took another boat similar to the one we left below the falls. [Ms. P. 88]

We embarked in a heavy shower of rain for Camp du Sable,⁹⁵ but we found the current very different from what we had hitherto experienced and made but little progress unless in the eddies which we crossed & recrossed the river to take advantage of. The river is from 1000 to 1200 feet in width at this part of it with its banks high—we encamped just beyond the Stony Islands about 5 miles above the falls. Several mosses and flowers were picked up here which were new.

6th June

We proceeded on about 7 o'clock and did not beach untill about 4 P.M. The current we found strong some 3 miles an hour and our boat heavy. The river was not high although the late rains had swelled it a little its usual time of flooding is early in

94 This account of the salmon overcoming a natural obstruction is the more interesting now as fish ladders and fish elevators are being built to help salmon over dams built for power and irrigation projects.

95 The place is later referred to as "Camp Maude du Sable or Champooling," evidently the famous Champoege where Oregon pioneers, led by George H. Himes, have erected a monument marking the place where the field meetings decided in favor of the Provisional Government of Oregon on May 2 and again on July 5, 1843. The place is on the Willamette River about 32 miles above Portland. As Judge Charles H. Carey, *History of Oregon*, page 418, points out, the "Maude" is superfluous and arose from a misunderstanding of "Campement du Sable" when spoken by French tongues.

the Spring Feby. and March when it rises to a great heighth as also all its tributaries of which it has many. It was raining when we arrived and we went to a house of Mr. Johnston⁹⁶ and although at another time we should have refused his hospitality yet the wetness of everything and the discomfort in encamping out in such weather, which overcame all our scruples of fleas, &c. &c. Johnston gave us a warm welcome and all he could do was done to make us comfortable. I found he had been in the Constitution during the last war and was anxious to peruse his letters over again. he has a picture of Old Ironsides hung up in his house also. He is married to a full blood Indian whom he calls his woman & has several children by her, and is extremely useful about the house but little or no cleanliness is evinced. he has 2 slaves of what tribes of Indians I did not learn. all his neighbors some half a dozen in number called to see me They are what one might expect to see in this country. I found them all agog about laws & legislatures, with [Ms. P. 88a] governors, judges, & the minor officers all in embryo and understood they were only waiting my arrival to act in the business & that they had appointed a Committee to wait upon me.

Cannon, one and I believe the only remaining one of the followers of Lewis & Clarke⁹⁷ that is in the country was here. He likes the country but "thinks there is no necessity for Dr. McL. authority or laws to govern it." Old Moore⁹⁸ exceedingly talkative has sense, or shrewdness and much information about the country he has passed through. He crossed the Mountain last year, says he found no difficulty in the trip, and intends to return, & bring out his family—is of opinion the country is a fine one and exceedingly healthy, and will compare with Missouri & Illinois in parts the great want in the upper country he thinks is wood.

I found this as I said before a dirty house and idle people it

⁹⁶ Probably William Johnson, who had served as High Sheriff in the attempted Provisional Government of 1841. The crisis bringing forward that attempt was the necessity of probating the estate of Ewing Young, who had died without known heirs, in February, 1841. After that business was satisfactorily adjusted the settlers were doubtful about continuing their government. As here related they were anxious to obtain the advice of Captain Wilkes.

⁹⁷ This seems to be an error. William Cannon was probably the only American who had remained in Oregon after Astoria had been sold to representatives of the North West Company of Montreal. H. H. Bancroft, in *History of Oregon*, Volume I., page 74, after mentioning a number of French Canadians of the Astor expedition who had remained in Oregon, says: "William Cannon, a Virginian, and a soldier from Fort Mackinaw, settled on the west side of the Willamette River, opposite the falls, and lived to the age of 99 years, dying in 1854." The statement by Wilkes that Cannon was of the Lewis and Clark party has been followed by others, but reference to the Elliott Coues *Lewis and Clark*, Volume I., pages 253-258, shows that the complete roster of the expedition includes no one of that name.

⁹⁸ For a study of this pioneer see "Robert Moore in Oregon History," by J. Orin Oliphant, in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Volume XV., pages 163-186.

is said to be the best in the Settlement, however passed an uncomfortable night, felt the fleas & other vermin. Drayton uneasy but we were forced to put up with these quarters all the settlers, I have yet seen are uncombed, unshaven, and a dirty clothed set.

Found this country well timbered from the falls up to the camp Maude du Sable. it may be said here that the Willamette Valley begins as the hills were made—on either side leaving the prairies which form it— It appears a fruitful country and the soil a rich clayey loam & capable of producing anything with industry. [Ms. P. 89]

7th [June]

We found horses here in waiting for us under charge of Michel La Framboise⁹⁹ who was exceedingly civil and perhaps better acquainted with the country than any one in it. He originally came out in the Tonquin and has been residing here ever since in the employ of the Company. He has travelled in all parts, among all tribes and says he has a wife in every tribe. From him I have derived much information and all agree that he well knows the country. I was therefore glad to meet with him again, and we rode off through the settlement of the valley towards the Mission. We stopt, for a few hours at the residence of Mr. Bachlet¹⁰⁰ the catholic priest who received us very kindly he has a large farm under cultivation and may be termed the head of the Canadians &c in the Valley to whose spiritual & temporal wants he pays great attention to and from the appearance that exist discernible in and about the habitations of these people I believe he is doing much good. We spoke about the Laws that they were desirous of establishing (but he objected to them and having much the largest numbers refused to cooperate, and was of opinion that the numbers and country embracing the Willamette could not warrant the establishment of them.

We dined with him on porridge venison strawberries & cream which though simple country fare was given with so much good feeling & kind deportment that it made it doubly welcome—even to a hungry person. The Chapel is here established & capable of containing the congregation. The country is too level for beauty and as rich an alluvial soil as can well be conceived. After leav-

⁹⁹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, Volume I., page 74, lists Michel La Framboise as one who remained from the Astor expedition and calls him "the leader of the southern annual trapping parties to California, who was so attentive to Kelley when sick. He settled on the west side of the Willamette."

¹⁰⁰ Evidently Father (afterwards Archbishop) Francis Norbet Blanchet.

ing the Mission we rode through the line of Settlements to the American Mission at its extreme and there we were kindly received by Mr. [Ms. P. 89a] Mr. Abernethy¹⁰¹ the Secular Agent of the Mission—he is living in the Hospital or what is known as such though it appears to have been converted in dwellings now for the Missionaries. in passing to it we went past the Mission so termed or the first log huts put up by the [illegible] near this were some work shops & some large fields enclosed that I was told produced about 25 bushels to the acre, but I was very much struck with the want of repair in which I found all the premises even to the Hospital the best building in all the Territory and I felt no little concern to see the threshing machine that had been furnished by the community at home lying stowed in the public road over which all the travel passed.

Mrs. Abernethy we found pretty & pleasing & gave us such hospitality as we would receive at home. I thought her rather out of place in this country & community. Dr. Babcock¹⁰² the Physicⁿ. lives near by to whom we paid a visit in the Evg. he appears to be comfortably lodged. He stated to me the country was in his opinion healthy that during this season they are subject to the ague & fever on the low grounds but the high & dry situation, he believed free from it, few other diseases existed and those of a mild character and easily yielded to simple remedies.

A committee waited on us of 5. principally the lay brothers of the Mission to consult and ask my advice relative to the establishment of the Laws after hearing attentively all the arguments that were produced in favour of it, and which as I think might be summed up in a few words having no substantial reasons for it, crimes do not appear to have been committed as yet & the [Ms. P. 90] persons & property of the settlers is fully secure it appeared to me that their reasons were principally that it would give them more importance in the eyes of others and induce in their opinion settlers to flock thereby raising the value of their farms and stock. Seeing this view of the subject I disagreed with them entirely in the necessity and policy of adopting any

- 1st. Because of their want of right, and those wishing for laws were in fact a minority of the settlers.

- 2nd. By their own accounts they were not necessary yet.

¹⁰¹ George Abernethy, who, in 1845, became Governor under the Provisional Government of Oregon.

¹⁰² Dr. I. L. Babcock as Supreme Judge under the Provisional Government of 1841, had successfully probated the estate of Ewing Young.

- 3rd. They would be a bad substitution for their moral code, which they now all follow, and that few who were disposed to do wrong would be willing to settle near a community of whom a large portion was opposed to evil doing.
- 4th. The great difficulty there would be in enforcing the laws, and defining the limits over which they should extend. would the Hudson B. Company be willing to enter into their enactment? Respect the Laws? No.
- 5th. Not being the act of the Majority, & the larger part of the population being Catholics they must at once produce discord, & be of great detriment or injury to the settlement.
- 6th. Besides I thought it would produce an unfavorable impression at home hearing the missionaries were alone in making the request for laws thereby admitting that in a community avowedly brought together & under their control they had not enough moral force to prevent crime, & therefore must have recourse to a criminal code.¹⁰³ From my observation I was well satisfied they were unnecessary and could not avoid drawing their attention to the fact that after all the various offices were filled there would be no subjects for the law to deal with. These arguments had the desired effect, for I understand [Ms. P. 90a.] they have been entirely dropped since.¹⁰⁴

8th [June]

Dr. Babcock and others called upon us this morning tendering an invitation from the settlers of the Willamette to the Squadron to celebrate the 4th of July with them. This was declined by myself on account of the various duties and impossibility of complying with it.

We were shown the Missionary garden but it appeared to me to want attention and that great requisite to a kitchen garden labour. Vegetables appear to grow here well—and very early.

The best garden in the territory or this Valley that I saw belongs to Dr. Bailey, who told me it was the work of his wife it gave me a better idea what could be done in this country by attention and moderate labour than anything I have met with. The whole premise bespoke industry Scarcely witnessed elsewhere.

¹⁰³ Judge Charles H. Carey, in his recent *History of Oregon* (1922) on page 372, discusses this interview and adds: "Wilkes here curiously overlooked the civil aspect of government, which was indeed the phase that had been called to critical attention, and he dwelt exclusively on restraint of crime, that was the matter of relatively lesser moment."

¹⁰⁴ Such efforts were dropped for a time but were renewed in 1843 and the Provisional Government then continued until the United States established Territorial Government in 1849.

After Breakfast the gentleⁿ. of the Mission proposed a ride to the Mill some 9 miles in a N. E. direction which I was glad to take. We rode over several fine prairies the high & low the soil varies considerably from clayey loam to a gravelly & light soil on the upper prairies the whole however may be termed good land though not as well timbered as I was led from description to suppose. Several fine views of Prairie Scenery but inferior to those about Nisqually in Beauty. At noon we reached the Mill where I was told I should see the Missionary operations Indian school &c. &c. which was in fact my principal object in making the visit. I was greatly disappointed. Some 25 ragged & half clothed Indian boys of large size were lounging about under the trees. Their appearance was anything but pleasing. A small mill [Ms. P. 91] worked by a small stream together with a small frame 2 story house occupied one corner of an extensive Prairie surrounded by some fine old oaks gave the whole at a distant and first view the appearance of an old settlement and a thrifty one from the numerous piles of lumber that was seen about the mill for in connexion with its run of stone they use it as a sawmill also The whole is quite small but fully adequate to the extent of power they have 15 bushels a day is as much flour as they can grind. This however supplies all their wants & part of those of the Settlement. I understood this is contemplated as the permanent settlement of the Mission being considered more healthy removed as it is on the high prairie & in this part the missionaries have as they told me marked off their 1000 acres in prospect of the country falling under the protection of our laws, and the Bill of Mr. Linn¹⁰⁵ or some other passing giving them a gratuity it

The mill I understood was under the charge of Mr. Raymond¹⁰⁶ I was told by the Mission that he was the greatest ranter among them. I was extremely desirous of hearing but I had no opportunity of doing so.

We were invited to stay dinner which we accepted and it would be difficult to give an idea of the repast without having been present. We dined a la Methodist on Salmon, Pork, potted cheese, and strawberries, tea & hot cakes,¹⁰⁷ they were all brothers

¹⁰⁵ United States Senator Lewis Fields Linn, of Missouri, whose advocacy of his "Oregon bill" has been remembered through the naming of Linn County, Oregon.

¹⁰⁶ W. W. Raymond and wife were members of the Methodist reinforcement that arrived in the *Lausanne* in 1840. He was listed as a farmer. He met a tragic death on February 4, 1843, while trying to save others from drowning. See Bancroft's *Oregon*, Volume I., pages 199-200.

¹⁰⁷ If Wilkes had only a little of the spirit of the pioneer, he would not write thus about the feast.

and sisters some with coats, some without, red flannel shirts, and dirty white arms, higgledy piggledy. I shall not soon forget the narrow cramped up table, more crowded round it than it would hold, with the wooden benches, high backed chairs & low seated ones, perchance all the tall ones seized the high seats and the low in stature were even with the well filled board. The meal was eaten by us all in brotherly love, but hunger assisted me or I never should have been able to [Ms. P. 91a] swallow mine. I rode with the Rev^d. Mr. Hines¹⁰⁸ to his quarters or farm to which he had just removed his wife & child & his worldly goods. I found them in a shanty of boards in the center of a fine prairie of which he informed me they had taken possession. They had the ordinary comforts about them that one would expect in this country.

He pointed out to me the position of the scite for their Seminary which is to be occupied by their scholars. I could derive little or no satisfactory information relative to their views and prospects in forwarding the education of the Indians from what tribe they proposed taking them and the manner of teaching &c. &c. from all that I did hear however my impression is that there is no field for the numbers that are now attached to this mission & in a very few years none of this army will be left. They seem not to wish to push their Missionary operations to the North where the tribes are numerous and extensive & the climate healthy. Dr. Richmond it is true is settled at Nisqually but he is doing nothing. As the holder of a charge in which their particular denomination of Christians at home are greatly interested, I view it as a great neglect on the part of this mission if they have not made true representations at home respecting their prospects & it seems to me unaccountable how they can have received so large an amount of funds without having done more than is apparent or acknowledged by themselves. The amount of Indians now included within their limits is as follows, viz—Nisqually Clatsop 209 Chinooks 220, Kilamouks 400, Kalla- [Ms. P. 92] puyas 600, Dalles 250—in all the country say 2000 of these they have under instruction if so it may be termed 25—and at the Dalles I believe is the only place where divine worship is attempted. Something may be said that these Missionaries came out under the idea that they are to settle and afford the necessary instruction if possible, but they are to colonize under the christian religion as their law

¹⁰⁸ Rev. Gustavus Hines, who later wrote two books about his missionary experiences and observations.

and guide & give the necessary instruction to the tribes they settle among to train them up in good habits, &c. &c. how this is to be done without exertion and strenuous efforts I am at a loss to conceive and it strikes me as obligatory on these Missionaries to state the facts they one and all admit.

At Mr. Hines I again had a long conversation with the Missionaries and stated the same objections I had given them before but more fully & I found them well satisfied. They [his objections to the Provisional Government] were too strong to be resisted, since the foundation of the Settlement but one horse had been stolen and a settler had been detected in stealing a neighbors pigs by enticing them to his house dropping them into a cellar where they were slaughtered & eaten which was at last discovered by the bones around his premises & he was made to confess & pay their value simply by the force of public opinion.

We rode back towards the Mission or Hospital the Mill being the most remote part of the Willamette Settlement, and occasionally on these fine prairies had a hard race, the horses are fine & from the quantity of pasture throughout the year in good condition. After taking leave of Mr. & Mrs. Abernethy we continued our route crossed the river at the Old Mission house. The river has here considerably worn the banks and if it goes on to the same extent it will not be many years before the richest portion of the Willamette Valley is lost. The river at the pass is about 200 yd^s. wide & the current 3 miles. [Ms. P. 92a]

We passed over in a crazy canoe with our traps & saddles and afterwards our horses swam over one or two being led by the canoe the animals are so well accustomed to this that they take the water very readily. At sunset we reached our camp which I had ordered to be pitched near O'Neil¹⁰⁹ farm, and received an invitation from the Rev. Mr. Leslie¹¹⁰ to take tea with them he a short time since lost his wife leaving several children—one of whom it is understood is engaged to be married to O'Neil.

O'Neil's farm is situated in a beautiful prairie of small extent with a fine forest encircling it & bordering on the river, it is gently undulating which takes away from its monotony. He had between 30 & 40 acres of wheat growing in fine order. It shows what ordinary industry will do in this Country 3 years since he

109 James O'Neil, who was converted at revival meetings held by Leslie in December, 1839. O'Neil was a member of the Provisional Government in 1843 and became Justice of the Peace for the Yamhill District.

110 Rev. David Leslie, who had arrived with his wife and three daughters on the *Sumatra* in September, 1837.

came to the Valley with but a skin (as he expressed it) to his back. he worked a part of this farm, obtained the loan of cattle from Dr. McL. has repaid him out of his crops and is now in possession of this farm 100 head of cattle, good suits of clothes all by his own industry & now he feels it only necessary for him to work one month in the year to make a living the rest of the time he may amuse himself. he spoke in the kindest terms of Dr. McL. & the assistance he had afforded him in his outset. I was much amused by my f^d. Mr. D.¹¹¹ being sadly affronted by the Rev^d. Mr. L. carrying him to his wife's grave, but I could not prevail on him to repeat the conversation that occurred.

9th [June]

The next morning we were doomed again to breakfast with Mr. Leslie, who showed us all the attention in his power at 9 we started for the Yam Hills [Ms. P. 93] in order to get a view from there of the whole country particularly the Tuallaty¹¹² Valley to the west'd of the Willamette which these hills divide. They are of a reddish clay loam and have no marks of any wash from the rains however steep the banks, they are clothed to the very top with a fine sward and afford excellent pature numbers of cattle are seen feeding on them—from the top of the Yam Hills we had a beautiful view of the surrounding country, it put me very much in mind of the Connecticut Valley from Mt. Hope¹¹³ the extent of country under view is 25 miles in extent, and extends to the different mountain ranges on the horizon. The wood as I remarked yesterday does not strike me as sufficient for the wants of the settlements. The oaks spread over the prairies in cluster gave them the appearance of orchards.

On our return towards the river road we passed the farm of One of Dr. McL. sons whom has settled here and has an extensive portion of prairie fenced in. One of the most striking appearances of the Willamette Valley is the flatness of its Prairies in some instances a dead level for miles in extent—and it becomes a problem of some difficulty to solve how they have been produced. Fire is no doubt the cause of their being kept clear of an under growth and may have been the original cause of them but the way the forests are growing round them would almost preclude this supposition as but thin belt of wood frequently occurs between exten-

¹¹¹ Joseph Drayton, artist, a member of the scientific corps of the Wilkes Expedition.

¹¹² A local use for Tualatin. His notes here and later are indistinct as to this name and his published *Narrative* gives it Faultz.

¹¹³ A peak in New Hampshire. In his published *Narrative* he changed it to Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts.

sive ones. Since the country has been in the possession of the whites it is found that the wood is growing up rapidly a stop having been put to the fires so extensively lighted throughout the country every year by the Indians. They are generally lighted in Sept. for the purpose of drying the seeds of the [blank] (sunflower) which is then gathered and forms a large portion of their food.¹¹⁴ [Ms. P. 93a]

As respects the Climate it may be termed mild it is however difficult to get any good data for these results few have paid any attention to the meteorological phenomenon some have no instruments others have lost them and omitted to take those that are now deemed essential viz., the night observations.

The rains are mild seldom any hard showers the winter of 1840 was thought to be the most severe of any yet known by the oldest white inhabitant. They had a foot of snow it laid but a few days, the coldest time of the year is said to be the end of Jany. or by beg^s of Feby. The Thermometer has been known to fall as low as -8° zero but for a very short time the N.E. & Easterly winds are the most unpleasant coming from the mountains, but a short dist. they produce sudden and great changes in the temperature. The S^d. & SW^d. winds are the warm winds although they generally bring rain or mist. Those from the N^d. & W^d. fine clear weathers. Westerly winds are the most prevalent.

On our route through the Yam Hills we passed many settlers establishment but they were but lately established and did not in consequence show much improvement I find in the Willamette a great difference in the two classes of Settlers Those composing the Canadian Population & the American cheerfulness and industry are well marked in the appearances of the former while neglect & discontent, with lou[n]ging seem to infect the latter.

The best farm I saw on my route was that of La [Ms. P. 94] Bontés.¹¹⁵ having heard that the late Mr. Young's¹¹⁶ farm was the most beautiful spot in this section of country I determined to visit it and therefore again crossed the Yam Hill and the River of that name in order to do so. I found it situated in a valley running East & West connetcing as it were the two V. of W. & Faulity.¹¹⁷ It by no means acceded my expectations being

¹¹⁴ One other tradition is that the Indian fires were made to facillitate the grazing and also the hunting of deer and elk.

¹¹⁵ Louis La Bonte, one of the Astorians who settled on the west side of the Willamette in 1833.

¹¹⁶ Ewing Young, frequently referred to in this narrative.

¹¹⁷ See note 112,

situated in a low, wet & marshy plain some three miles in extent. The premises were very much out of repair, no one at home two persons were in charge of the farm on wages at \$1 per day.

On looking about the premises Johnston found a sick Kana-ka¹¹⁸ lying in a bunk and $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pig roasting hanging by its hind legs over a slow fire. Mr. Young appears to have been one of the first pioneers & settlers in this valley, was desirous at one time to establish a distillery but through the influence of Mr. Slacum¹¹⁹ he was diverted from it & engaged to go to California for cattle in order that himself and others belonging to the Settlement might be supplied with them the Hudson's Bay Co^r refusing to sell any. Mr. Slacum invested some money in Cattle also Mr. Young taking the charge of them during my visit at the Columbia both Mr. Slacum & Young had died & Youngs property falling into the hands of hunters I thought it advisable that Mr. Slacums nephew should receive for his uncles estate the proceeds of them—and as this whole transaction came under my immediate knowledge I am satisfied of its correctness as regards the increase of flocks & herds in this country. Mr. S. share on their arrival from California in 1837 amounted to 23 at this time Dr. McL. purchased of Mr. May¹²⁰ 86. Several having been accounted for as lost & killed by accident making the whole numbers of increase in 4 years about [Ms. P. 94a] 400 per Cent. from Youngs farm we passed to his Saw Mill now quite in ruin it was erected at much expense and badly located, little timbers in the neighborhood. Shortly before Youngs death the Mill dam was washed away, and it is now deemed an unprofitable business to erect it again. I regretted the disturbed stream as I was desirous of making further explorations after the Bones of a Mastodon which had been given to me at Oaks by a Capt. Gouch but I found on inspecting the locality that the whole course of the current had been changed and the materials of the Dam of the saw mill had created such an obstruction as to have caused a large mass of alluvial deposits to be heaped upon the position to remove which would have been an herculean labor. besides it was doubtful if the remaining bones had not prior to the flood of waters been

118 In the published *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 359, this word is translated into "a native of the Sandwich Islands."

119 William Slacum, who made a tour of inspection for the United States Government in 1837.

120 In the published *Narrative* he refers to Mr. Slacum's nephew as "a midshipman on board my ship." Here in the diary he refers to Mr. May. Reference to the roster shows William May as midshipman on the *Vincennes*. Doctor McLoughlin paid over \$860 for the young officer as the purchase price of the uncles cattle.

carried down the Stream and lost. The bank in which the bones were found was of red marl & gravel.¹²¹

The creeks of this country in the spring Feby—swell suddenly and cause much damage to the farmer.

The Yam Hill River is about 60 or 70 yds wide but too deep for the Horses to ford La Bontes farm joins on it it is susceptible of navigation with canoes. After a long and tedious ride we reached the Willamette opposite to the Camp Maude du Sable¹²² or Champooying where we took up our quarters in a house belonging to George Gay¹²³ who after this became my guide George is full as much an Indian in habits as a white can be & bears them no love & is a terror to them having not infrequently taken the law into his own and applied it after the Lynch fashion. George is of that easy [Ms. P. 95] kind of lounging figure so peculiar to an Indian or backwoodsman has a nice & useful Indian woman who does his bidding and takes care of his children horses & guards his household though his property does not consist of many valuables, superfluities with him are not to be found, and when you see George & his woman & child travelling you may be sure his all is with him but George is a useful member in this small community. he gelds & marks cattle, breaks horses, and cows for milking, assist in finding them, in short he undertakes any and all irregular sort of business, and few things with him are deemed impossibilities and in the words of one of the settlers George was not a man to be trifled or fooled with. he afterwards became my guide and I had much confidence in him.

10th June.

This morning we were disturbed by the Indian slaves of Johnson who came to look for the milking Pans Drayton pelted them well with his shoes whilst I search in vain for my pistols They took the alarm & ran off very much frightened shortly after breakfast we crossed the river to Johnston no one can conceive the filth all these people indulge indoors and out though one is sure to receive a hearty good will to supply all your wants; it is extremely to be regretted that an example of one good farmer should not root himself here. I am fully persuaded it would do more than all the Missionarys could possibly effect, by example. One month in the year is all that is required of labour viz for

¹²¹ For a discussion of Oregon fossils see Thomas Condon's *Two Islands and What Came of Them*, or the later edition entitled *Oregon Geology*.

¹²² See note 95.

¹²³ George Gay became a member of the Provisional Government and later joined the gold rush to California, 1848-1849.

putting the wheat &c. &c. into the ground and when it is ripe enough reaping it. the Harvest generally occurs in July and August the rest of the year can be passed in comparative idleness, their cattle need little or no attendance & thus their time is fully at their disposal. I cannot but view this as likely to become one of the great evils of the country. a man becoming as it were rich by comparative idleness—and it will always be an easy matter for the community to be led away by vices. [Ms. P. 95a] Spirits introduced into this Settlement would very soon destroy it altogether.

This morning I left Mr. Drayton to go to the Willamette farm by the boat and took the route by land in order to visit other portions of the Valley that lie in a N. E. direction from Champooya after crossing a ridge of trap rock for about one mile we again entered on the Prairie & stop'd at Dr. Bailey's¹²⁴ farm. This was the nicest house I had seen in the Territory and under the superintendence of a good Yankee wife.¹²⁵ I staid to dinner and it was indeed a pleasure to see every part of an establishment in such order. Mrs. B. garden I have heretofore spoken of. all that appears to be wanting here is the society necessary to interest one altho' Mrs. B. said she had neighbors but they were not neighbors in Oregon she was formerly of the Mission & regretted that the field to the north among the various tribes was not occupied. Dr. Bailey is the practicing phyⁿ. he stated to me that the country for whites was very healthy and would be so for the natives if they could be persuaded to take care of themselves. The ague & fever was not of a dangerous type. He stated to me there had been but one surgical operation to his knowledge in this country. The Fever & ague was very destructive to the Indians at least *one* fourth died off yearly, when an Indian is sick and considered beyond recovery he is poisoned by the medicine man, for

124 Dr. William J. Bailey, one of the most interesting Oregonians of that day, was an English surgeon who had come to America to break away from habits of dissipation. He became a sailor and made his way to California where he led a roving life until 1835, when he joined seven others to seek out Ewing Young in Oregon. On the way their camp was visited by Rogue River Indians, who were allowed liberties that led to tragedy. Four of the party were killed. Dr. Bailey, though frightfully wounded, made his way to Fort Vancouver where he was cared for in the Hudson's Bay Company hospital. John K. Townsend was at Vancouver and wrote: "This is certainly by far the most horrible looking wound I ever saw, rendered so, however, by injudicious treatment and entire want of care in the proper apposition of the sundered parts; he simply bound it up as well as he could with his handkerchief and his extreme anguish caused him to forget the necessity of accuracy in this respect. The consequence is, that the lower part of his face is dreadfully contorted, one side being considerably lower than the other." *Townsend's Narrative* "Early Western Travels" edition, pages 328-331. The missionaries encouraged Dr. Bailey, who built up an important practice and became an honored member of the Provisional Government. He died at Champoe on February 5, 1876, aged about 70 years. Bancroft's *Oregon*, Volume I., pages 96-97.

125 Miss Margaret Smith had come on the *Sumatra* in 1837 and was a teacher in the Methodist Mission before she became the wife of Dr. Bailey.

this purpose a decoction of the root of the wild cucumber is given him. Some of this—roots grow to a very large size. I saw one at Mr. Walters at the falls of 3 [feet] long about 12 inches diameter. Dr. Bailey accompanied [Ms. P. 96] us as far as the falls on my route I stopt at a Mr. Walkers¹²⁶ who came from Missouri by the mountains with all his family last year. He does not like the country and will go the first opportunity to California. He said the climate was too wet for business that the land is good for crops but only for small grain—corn cannot be raised—and a first rate grazing country—he is a good specimen of a border man and appears to think nothing of a change of domicil although he is much passed the middle age.

He says (which is true) there is no market for grain—nor is there likely to be, and if he should not like California he will travel home again. Mr. Walker subsequently joined the party & went across to California from the Willamette river and I believe entered into the service of Mr. Suter located on the Sacramento and of whom I shall hereafter in treating of that part of the country speak.

I rode on after leaving Mr. Walker with Gay in advance at his own pace having made up my mind to move rapidly notwithstanding all the obstructions I expected to meet with. He told me he was of English Parents but now he was more than $\frac{1}{2}$ Indian & I will add fully equal to them in all artifice. He passes for the best laso thrower, always ready to eat, sleep or frolic. His woman & 2 children are to him as his trappings, and he is to be seen roaming the country far and wide and is ever on the alert to help the weary or those who may be in want of aid. I have seen him while with me dash off for half a mile for a poor indian's horse he was unable to catch and then return this was done in a manner that showed it was his practice.

We had to cross the Powder river about $\frac{1}{2}$ way [Ms. P. 96a] to the falls, and finding the usual ford entirely closed with drift wood George set to work to endeavor to find a place where our horses could get across which he soon did. Swimming them was but a few moments work and we passed over the fallen trees and joined him on the opposite bank. The Powder river or rather

¹²⁶ Joel P. Walker, born in Virginia in 1797, was a typical frontiersman, moving ever westward. He came to Oregon with his wife and five children in 1840 and is counted the first, not a missionary or fur trader, who sought the home lands in Oregon promised in the Linn bill. When Lieutenant George F. Emmons, of the Wilkes Expedition, led an overland party from Oregon to California in 1841, the Walker family joined the emigrants that accompanied the party. He returned to Oregon with cattle for sale and in 1845 became one of the judges in the Provisional Government for Yamhill County. Later he returned to California and remained there.

Creek is about 200 feet wide and almost 20 feet deep in this quarter, in some places it has a rapid run.

The country now became exceedingly rough & the low places wet and miry and can be of little use for agricultural purposes at times when the river becomes choked with timber and there is sudden rise the prairies are all inundated that border on it. its course was W. N. W. & E. S. E. a few miles farther we forded the Little Powder and they join each other just before entering the Willamette & form an Island at their mouth.

All our way to the falls was through a broken trap country with some large timber but it would be impracticable to remove it. We reached the falls at Sunset and considering the road we had travelled I could not help congratulating myself that we had reached our destination before dark the last few miles of route was a sort of a break-neck one.

I found here Mr. Drayton & the tents all comfortably prepared. Here I again saw Mr. Waller who was literally uncombed, unshaven and dirty both in appearance and person.

These missionaries are very far from what they ought to be low, vulgar and unclean. I am invited to partake of their hospitality including all those about us. I have seldom if ever until [Ms. P. 97] I came here witnessed so much uncleanness, & so little regard paid to proper decorum if they were Christian men and readers of their bible, they ought to practice cleanly habits. Mr. W. was as filthy as any Indian I have met with in appearance & taking our nation into consideration more so They are sent out to show an example but how little they do in this respect and how little they earn their wages in preaching the Gospel a higher and Just God will determine from this I must exempt the wives who I must say are in a great degree the honor of their husbands & my only wonder is that they dont insist upon the adoption of their habits by them.

Took leave of Mr. Drayton whom I desired to stay here a few days for him to get the salmon & drawings of the various objects pointed out & to collect specimens having embarked all our traps I seated myself in the large boat and began the descent of the Willamette. A 11 reached the boat builders camp whom I found progressing well and who appear to work with much unanimity the land across the Willamette appears to be good & well wooded with oak, fir and cedar about 3 miles from its mouth where i[t]s delta begins found the waters much higher all the low

land overflown & I understood if I had been in a canoe I might have gone in a direct course for the Fort. at sunset after a hard rowing we reached the Fort w[h]ere I was again kindly received by Dr. McL. and Mr. Douglas & all the gentlemen then among them Mr. Peter S. Ogden¹²⁷ of the N^{on}. district who had arrived a few days since he is a chief factor in the Company. Mr. Ogden is a Brother [Ms. P. 97a] of Harry Ogden of New York of the family of Ogden of Montreal. he has been stationed at Fort Simpson but now at Fort St. James, in Stuarts lake (he has been 32 years in the country) and has 6 posts under him in New Caledonia, but from his having passed a huge portion of his time with trapping parties he possesses much knowledge of the country he represents the country in the northern section unsusceptible of cultivation, on account of the proximity of the mountain-range all the year covered with snow producing sudden changes in the heat of summer that would destroy the crops. His post is amply supplied with salmon (dried) on which they live the greater part of the year their stores flour &c. &c. are all taking from the Colville districts and that of Vancouver. Furs are very abundant and are purchased at a small price his return this year was valued at \$100,000. This he informed was a great falling of—indeed, I am informed that the trapping in the southern section is scarcely worth the outlay for a party.

I have been exceedingly amused since my return to the fort with the voyageurs of Mr. Ogdens party. They are to be seen lounging about in groups decked off with feathers ribbons &c. &c. with the conceit and flaunting air of a finely dressed country girl evidently looking down upon all those employes who with their somber and business like air are moving around the fort as if they were total strangers to the pelasure of life while these jovial fellows seemed to have naught to do but att. [Ms. P. 98] to the d[eco]rating of their persons and pleasures

Mr. Ogden represented to me that the object in establishing the Pugets Sound Company¹²⁸ was to derive profit from the agricultural labours & the raising of cattle for Hide, Horn & tallow that their ships now went home almost empty & the cost would

127 Peter Skeen Ogden, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, for whom a city, river, canyon and valley in Utah have been named. Recent interest has been aroused in his career notably in *Hidden Heroes of the Rockies*, by Isaac K. Russell. Ogden's grave in Oregon has been found and appropriately marked.

128 Puget Sound Agricultural Company shared with the Hudson's Bay Company in claims for property and improvements after the boundary treaty of 1846, and received for its share \$200,000 on September 10, 1869. See *Treaties and Conventions, 1776-1887*, pages 469-470.

be little besides they had the feeding of all the Post & the packing of Beef, butter, Pork &c. &c. They now have entered into a contract with the Russian Company¹²⁹ to supply them with their provisions I cannot but view the Industry and labours of this Company but as tending to forward greatly the advantages to be derived from it by the future possession of the soil—enabling emigration to go on with much greater ease profit and rapidity. From the nature of the country its peculiar adaptation to grazing, mildness of its climate, and the little attention required for the care of Herds I am satisfied that this must become one of the richest cattle countries in the world and go far to compete with any portion of it, in its salted beef, Pork, & for which the climate is deemed exceedingly favorable. It now contains about 10,000 cattle though it is but a few years ago that the first were introduced from California.

The Price of wild cattle may be quoted now at \$10 a head but those that are broken in for labour or milch cows bring in some cases enormous prices some milch cows in the Willamette valley have been sold for 70\$ and an endeavor has been made to keep the price of cattle up as labour is usually paid in stock. The price of labour for a mechanic may [Ms. P. 98a] may be set down at \$2.50 to 3\$ and difficulty to get them at that. This is the Spanish \$ which is however worth in consequence of the exchange but 40 cents. The wages for a common labourer 1\$—

The price of wheat is fixed by the company at [blank] cents for which anything but spirits may be drawn from the Stores at 50 percent on the London cost. This is supposed all things taken into consideration to be about equal to 1.25/100\$ a bushel, but it is difficult for the Settlers so to understand it, and they are by no means satisfied with this rule although it is for their benefit.

There is a description of money here called Beaver money which is that of skins which are valued at \$2. throughout the Territory.

During my absence the water of the River had risen 3 feet & again fallen 18 inches and the fears of the farmer in relation to the crops have in a measure subsided. I hear however that the wheat on the lower prairie near the fort has suffered considerably—although it will produce a large yield.

We have had frequent showers & much rain this last few weeks I was led to believe that they were subject to draught but

¹²⁹ The Russian American Company, of which at that time Lieutenant Etolin was Governor.

am inclined to believe it may rather be classed as a wet climate Those better acquainted with the seasons differ so much in their opinions and indeed are so opposite that it is difficult to get at anything that would appear facts from Experience Dr. McL. thought it a wet Season but Mr. Douglas on the contrary thought [Ms. P. 99] there was less rain than usual. Wm. Bruce the gardner somewhat of a judge from his plants said it was about the time of year for showers & that he had not been obliged to water much. Bruce is somewhat of an oddity after his service was out he desired to go home & accordingly left in one of the Company's vessel arrived at London & then accidentally met Dr. McL. in the street whom he joyfully recognized and on being asked how he got along, he said not at all he wished to go back to Vancouver, for there was nothing there to be compared to it he was ill at ease the ship being not quite ready & wishing to get him instructed permission was obtained for him to work in the Duke of Devonshire's garden. When he left he was questioned what he thought of it, he said sure Sir it is not to be compared to Vancouver Bruce & myself had many a chat at Vanc^{er}. and there are few happier or more contented persons. I can vouch for it that Billy Bruce the gardner at Vancouver is of some extent & most of the Horticultural plants thrive well the climate is well adapted for fruits particularly apples pears & grapes have been tried but do not yet yield well figs are grown also, and some very fine melons rasberries currants & strawberries are also fine.

Though the garden is not quite equal to that of Chiswick¹³⁰ I can agree very readily it is by no means contemptible under the constant superintendence of Bruce.

Potatoes are planted in the fields & enormous crops had. The gentlemen of the Company are industrious in introducing new plants but their hopes have often [Ms. P. 99a] often times disappointed from the seed turning out defetcive much good must result to the country and they who introduce new seeds or plants that add to the comfort as well as food of man ought to be classed among the benefatcors of a country. One of the gentlⁿ Mr. D— introduced Hops by bringing a few living plants with him from Canada some 3000 miles & the plants now are to be seen in abundance in their gardens.

In speaking of the Willamette Valley I have viewed its ad-

¹³⁰ Defined in reference works as a "suburb of London where Hogarth was buried." It probably possessed a famous garden.

vantages as to raising grains & the facility afforded for the Settlers to become wealthy. There are some objections to the formation of a large settlement there in consequence of the interruption in its river at all season of the year and which must make it labour under disadvantages in getting to a market or in receiving their supplies. The Columbia being their only outlet for the farmer, there would be little or no difficulty in locking at the falls & from appearances I would think the Rock well adapted to it—but a young settlement cannot contend with such expense.

Salmon fishing in the Willamette does not extend above the falls great quantities are here caught The season is the month of June it is scarcely possible to estimate the amount of salmon that are caught at these falls it varies in different years but they are considered among the finest at this distance from the sea.

The H. B. Co. have an establishment for [Ms. P. 100] the purchase of salmon from the natives at these falls and also the Missionaries. I would suppose many 800 bls. were taken by the Company sup't. & Indians and this is after the Indians mode of catching them.

The fisheries at the Dalls, Cascades, & several places along the River also produce large quantities—as high up as Colville.

Frazer's River is supposed to Yield even a larger quantity than the Col^a. though they are not so large and fine The Chikiles, Muqua & all the small streams, on the coast are much frequented by them, and to these may be added the Sacramento & its branches. The resources of these Rivers cannot well be estimated in their salmon and would afford a large source of profit to its Settlers. The Salmon do not pass up the Cowlitz in the Spring I can see no other reason for it than that the waters are muddy. The fall salmon however frequent it in October—

The finest salmon are those caught nearest the Sea near the mouths of the Rivers¹³¹—

14th. 15th. & 16. [June]

I was very busily employed in writing orders for the Peacock & Flying Fish¹³² which I put in charge of Mr. Waldron whom I sent to Fort George to await the arrival there—

131 In the published *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 366, he expanded this praise: "The fish of the waters are said to be hardly edible, and compared with those caught at the mouth of the Columbia, are totally different in flavour. The latter are the richest and most delicious fish I ever recollect to have tasted: if anything, they were too fat to eat, and one can perceive a difference even in those taken at the Willamette Falls, which, however, are the best kind for salting."

132 The ship *Peacock* and the tender *Flying-Fish*, of the squadron, had continued their work in the South Seas and were expected at the mouth of the Columbia. The *Peacock* was wrecked on the Columbia River bar on July 18, 1841, and subsequently the *Flying-Fish* was sold at Singapore in February, 1842.

Mr. Ogden kindly informed he intended to take me as far as the Cowlitz farm in one of his boats previous to leaving for his Northern trip having nothing for Mr. Drayton to do particularly I accepted Mr. Ogden's offer to give him a passage as far as Walla-Walla. On the morning of the 17th the Fort was in a stir at an early hour, and preparations were making. Now and then we saw a voyageur decked out in his ribband, & feathers all [Ms. P. 100a] attention to his duties. about 10 o'clock we were all summoned by Dr. McLaughlin to the Hall to take a parting cup customary in this country and observed as far as I could learn throughout among themselves. All were present Missionaries and all the household, the former ought to have staid away for if they had been at my funeral instead of leave taking they could not have been so repugnant to good fellowship & feeling.

Some no doubt think this piece of Scotch politeness would be better in the Breach than observance but I was of a very different opinion it whiles away that part of leaving of ones friend that is always the most painful the pledging of each other, and the good wishes one takes with him are all pleasant and give a warmth to recollections of by gone days that is by no means disagreeable, one feels and loves the kindness, and attention of one's friends to the last, & enables one to bid goodby with more courage—I like this hanging to old customs in the Scotch, perhaps more attended to than any other nation, and there is always a warmth of feeling thrown into its observance that cannot but be felt Off we marched for the River Side accompanied by the whole establishment forming quite a cavalcade. On our arrival there we found one of Mr. Ogden's boats decked out with Mats, and Manned by 14. Voyageurs, all gaily dressed with their ribbands and plumes of various colours tied in large bunches over the oil skin covered Hats. with another warm shake of the hand we embarked & off we flew against the Stream under the fine chorus of a Canadian Boatsong, and gracefully swept round [Ms. P. 101] until we reached its centre when the boat seemed a fit object to grace this beautiful River now at its height. On we merrily went and in about 2½ hours we reached the Mouth of the Cowlitz a distance of about 35 miles—There we had a strong current to contend with and at night fall we had progressed up the Cowlitz about 12 miles when we encamped, the weather had changed & we had a wet night of it, but laughing and jokes made our time pass merrily and we found the sun far above the horizon

when we struck our tents after noon showers came on again and struggling with the strong current prevented us from making our destination, and we encamped within about 3 miles of the forks. The management of the Boat in the rapids (though on a small scale) of the men truly surprised me and how well trained & dexterous the Canadians are in using the Pole & paddle and withal so jovial singing almost the whole time one or the other of them, & then all joining in chorus¹³³ gives them spirits & serves to keep them awake, & make the time pass quickly. about every half hour they take a spell or a smoke¹³⁴ with one having his pouch bag ornamented *ala* Indians and containing his fine implements tobacco & Pipe. without this no one can trade in an Indian country.

At noon on the 19th we reached the Farm landing & after getting on top of the light bank & finding the road muddy we took the Chariot that had come for our luggage & drove up in style to the House—much to the wonderment of Mr. Forrest¹³⁵ the overseer. On the 20th I regretted extremely to part with my friends at day light, the many hours I have passed in their Company will long be associated with that of the territory in my recollections. I had almost forgotten to mention that under the guidance of Mr. Ogden [Ms. P. 101a] I made a visit to the Catholic Priest Mr. [blank]¹³⁶ who has this as his Station several Canadian families were here whom he has under his charge We found all of them quite flourishing and apparently happy and enjoying plenty—the land of this Section is good though I should say the soil was not so deep as in the Willamette but more serviceable in raising all kinds of crops from 15 to 20 bushels of wheat is raised to the acre. The Pasturage for cattle is not so good, but still the Cattle require no housing—

133 Collections of the Canadian boat songs have been published.

134 Distances of river points were sometimes given in terms of "smokes" or "pipes."

135 Charles Forrest was succeeded as superintendent of Cowlitz Farm in 1847 by George B. Roberts.

136 The name of the priest was apparently not ascertained. Fathers Francis Norbet Blanchet and Modeste Demers had first settled there in 1838. Father Blanchet was mentioned as in the Willamette Valley. See note 100. The one on Cowlitz Prairie in 1841 may have been Father Demers, who continued his work north of the Columbia River, mainly along the shores of Puget Sound and Vancouver Island.

BOOK REVIEWS

Honne, the Spirit of the Chehalis. By KATHERINE VAN WINKLE PALMER. (Geneva, N. Y.:Humphrey, 1925. Pp. 204. \$1.50.)
Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific. By CHARLES HARRISON. (London: Witherby, 1925. Pp. 222. 15 shillings.)

This collection of Chehalis folktales is a welcome addition to the body of material about the Indians of the Northwest which is being gradually accumulated. For the student of Indian culture and history the Chehalis are in a very important position. From the Quinault, their neighbors to the north, they were due to receive some of the culture traits that spread from the centers of North Pacific Coast culture on Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland. To the south were the Chinook whose version of North Pacific Coast culture, still further removed from the center had acquired other interpretations. They also showed relations with their own southern neighbors. To the east and northeast were the Cowlitz and Nisqually, important as centers of trade and therefore also cultural diffusion between the Coast and Sound peoples and the Indians east of the Cascades. They together with the Klickitat were the tribes who introduced horses through their trade with the Indians towards the Plains.

From this it can be seen that the Chehalis were in a position to have a rich and varied culture. Very little is known about them for their tribal life disintegrated soon after the coming of the whites. That there are fragments to be gleaned by the ethnologist is shown by the present publication.

It might be assumed that as large a collection of folktales as the present one could help solve this question of cultural affiliation of the Chehalis. Most unfortunately this is not true. In the preface it is stated that the tales are told by a man whose father was Nisqually and whose mother was a Cowlitz. Although he lived on the Chehalis River the larger part of his life it cannot be assumed that the tales are really the folktales of the Chehalis Indians. Taken episode for episode, they resemble most closely a collection of Snohomish-Snuqualmi stories which will appear shortly in the *Journal of American Folklore*. Since it is known that the Snohomish and Nisqually were very closely related linguistically and culturally one might safely offer the opinion that

the Indian who told these stories gave what he had gotten from his father rather than telling the tales of the locality in which he lived. This may seem like a minor point but to the ethnologist tribal differences are of utmost importance, for it is only through the records of these minor differences that the larger changes in culture can be traced.

Another difficulty in using the tales for the comparative study of local folktales is the fact that the subtitles are run utterly regardless of the unity of the incidents they head. Some have the weight of a full title, others head merely a brief paragraph. For anyone interested in Indian literary style this is most perplexing, for it is impossible to determine the length of a single story, hence the character of the plots cannot be discussed.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the collection is a welcome one, especially since it was undertaken because of a real interest in these people and a desire to perpetuate their body of unwritten literature.

The second book deals with the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, a tribe formerly feared by all tribes from Alaska to California. They were fearless seamen who constantly set out on marauding expeditions. The book is written by a man who has lived among these people for forty years and therefore witnessed the old life before its decay. The author has given a very readable, entertaining account, but it adds little to the information which ethnologists have gathered. It is unfortunate that his rare opportunity to observe the intimate, day by day life of the tribe was not used to greater advantage. In one of the early chapters the author states that no systematic effort had been made to study these people and their works. He is evidently not aware of the solid contributions of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of the American Museum of Natural History on these people published some twenty years ago.

ERNA GUNTHER.

Oregon Sketches. By WALLACE SMITH. (New York: Putnam, 1925. Pp. 247. \$2.50.)

In *Oregon Sketches* Wallace Smith gives glimpses of the new and glorified West, a West that is a revival of all that tradition has contributed to the term, including cowboys and Indians, guns and war paint. For the sake of the cinema "the good old West is booming along greater than ever". The "ladies" of Bootlace

Valley and Mrs. Peavy are genuine wild West, neither civilized nor stage struck; but he who seeks the wildness of former days will find it impossible to get away from the derby hat, the radio, and the sniffing, pointing tourist.

Maverick Tod Mullarky speaks regretfully and with unconscious humor of the old departed West. He recounts the myth of the Nung Nung, the legend of the cow Callahan, the saga of the original Elk and the history of Captain Jack's last stand.

Appropriate illustrations by the author add interest to the sketches.

As a picture of some of the swiftly changing phases of the West the book is of value.

ELVA L. BATCHELLER.

History of America. By CARL RUSSELL FISH. (New York: American Book Company, 1925. Pp. 570. \$1.92.)

The History of the United States. By WILLIAM BACKUS GUITTEAU. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. Pp. 688. \$1.96.)

The Growth of the United States. By RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. Pp. 823. \$5.00.)

The number of general texts in American history is steadily increasing. Writing a text is, of course, one of the most difficult tasks in the world. In compressing the history of our nation, it is inevitable that fine shades of meaning be lost. There are two dangers that are equally latent in the problem. If the writer believes in a concrete presentation with ample illustrative material, his account is apt to become a manual. A manual is extremely useful, but it needs to be supplemented with more readable material. Mr. Guitteau's volume would be a good manual for secondary schools if it were accurate. That is one quality that is necessary. His work is comparatively accurate, but not absolutely so. For example, his paragraph on the "Closing of the trade routes" is a decade out of date; his statement about the stamp act is equivocal; his interpretation of Andrew Johnson's "Swing around the Circle" is inadequate; and his account of the Panama Canal negotiations in 1903 shows no evidence of research in that topic. In fact, Mr. Guitteau's book presents on the whole the conventional account, somewhat inaccurate and inadequate, and not at all de-

signed to fill any new requirements that may be considered necessary for secondary schools.

If the writer believes, on the contrary, in a more general account, he faces the danger of leaving too much to the student's imagination. Professor Fish has written in delightful literary style a more elementary text. Professor Fish has organized his work in an interesting way, giving new titles to periods and allowing periods to overlap chronologically. He emphasizes the importance of social and economic factors, and expresses his interpretation without hesitation. The appendices are valuable additions, and at the close of each chapter, there are useful suggestions for questions, further reading and projects. Professor Harlow's book is intended for college reading. His style is delightful, also, but the account is conventional and with no particular differences to offer. It seems difficult to combine interpretation with the one-volume account. It is not at all clear why certain events are described and why others are omitted. In the preface, the writer should give a brief confession of faith in which he offers his criteria for choice of facts and tendencies. Professor Harlow's account of the Farmer's Alliance is very interesting, for example, but it is impossible to tell what he considers significant about it. The lack of rainfall, in fact, is given special emphasis. One would imagine that the hopes and fears of this insurgent group deserved some other emphasis. However, the task, at its best, is a difficult one. It may be impossible to write a one-volume text that combines accuracy of research and good literary style with a carefully established basis for the choice of facts. We need the latter especially, for, as a nation, our criteria for judgment are notably illogical and inadequate.

EBBA DAHLIN.

Raising Fur-Bearing Animals. By HARDISON PATTEN. (Chicago: C. V. Ritter, 1925. Pp. 466. \$6.00.)

This volume is written as a guide to the raising of fur-bearing animals. It is intended therefore to interest the fur farmer rather than the historian. Some brief notes are given on the evolution of the fur business however which should prove of general appeal. The work appears to be a substantial contribution to its subject. Many drawings are furnished to show the habits of the animals and modern methods of fur-farming.

The Oregon Trail. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With illustrations in color by N. C. WYETH. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1925. Pp. 364. \$2.00.)

Of all recent editions of *The Oregon Trail* this is by far the most attractive. The book is well made and well bound. The type is large and clear on good paper. There are five illustrations in color besides colored end papers and cover design, all by N. C. Wyeth. The volume retails at \$2.00 the copy, an astonishingly low price for a book so well produced.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Rock, End of the First Journey Across North America. By CAPTAIN R. P. BISHOP. (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1925. Pp. 31.)

The Canadian Government is publishing the Historic Site Series, of which *Mackenzie's Rock* is Number 6. Judge F. W. Howay supplies the introduction and illuminating footnotes. Captain Bishop tells about the painstaking search of records and survey of the region to accurately trace Mackenzie's route from the mouth of the Bella Coola River to the famous rock ending the traveller's quest of the Pacific.

At the beginning is this quotation from *Mackenzie's Voyages*, page 349: "I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed, in large characters, on the South-East face of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial—'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three'."

That inscription is permanently replaced on the identified rock by the Canadian Historic Sites Commission. The work interests the whole Northwest. The Portland *Oregonian* on November 30, 1924, declared editorially: "In succeeding where less thorough research must have failed, British Columbian historians who have at last determined the precise terminus of Alexander Mackenzie's journey across the American continent in 1793 have set a commendable example."

A History of Oregon. By ROBERT CARLTON CLARK, ROBERT HORACE DOWN AND GEORGE VERNE BLUE. (Chicago: Row, Peterson and Company, 1925. Pp. 356.)

The History Teachers' Section of the Oregon State Teachers' Association and the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers combined their efforts which persuaded the writing of this book as

a text to be used in the elementary schools of Oregon. The authors acknowledge also sympathetic interest and encouragement by Miss Cornelia Marvin, State Librarian of Oregon. The authors are well placed to achieve success. Mr. Clark is Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon; Mr. Down has the same title in Franklin High School, Portland; Mr. Blue is Professor of History in the University of Hawaii.

The book is well printed, well illustrated and at the end of each chapter are questions for review and citations for additional readings. Chapter I., deals with "Geography of the Oregon Country" and the last, or Chapter XX., is headed "Economic Progress Since 1870." The book deserves success.

Halcyon Days in Port Townsend. By C. H. HANFORD. (Seattle: Privately printed, 1925. Pp. 118. \$2.50.)

Judge Cornelius H. Hanford is so well known as a pioneer and prominent citizen of the Pacific Northwest that anything he may write or publish will be received with respect. *Halcyon Days in Port Townsend* is one of the latest fruits from his pen. The present reviewer has the desire to become enthusiastic over the book but finds it difficult to do so. It is neither history nor fiction. The two elements are mingled. There are good writing and much fun and many anecdotes worth having in the volume. Collectors of Northwest Americana will gladly save it as an entertaining addition to our growing literature.

Frontier Law, A Story of Vigilante Days. By WILLIAM J. MCCONNELL. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1924. Pp. 233. \$1.20.)

There have appeared in this publication reviews of several other books in the World Book Company's "Pioneer Life Series," notably *Hidden Heroes of the Rockies* by Isaac K. Russell. *Frontier Law* deals with the pioneer days of Idaho, of which State the author was once Governor. In graphic style, particularly for young American readers, the author tells of stage coaches, Indians, prospectors, cattle-men and especially how the vigilantes restored the control of affairs to the hands of the decent people of Idaho after bad men had attempted to rule.

We Must March. By HONORE WILLIS MORROW. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925. Pp. 427. \$2.00.)

Mrs. Morrow uses as a subhead for *We Must March* "A Novel of the Winning of Oregon." The heroine is the "golden-haired, golden-voiced Narcissa," bride of Marcus Whitman, famous medical missionary to the Indians of the Oregon Country. It is made to appear that Mrs. Whitman respected but did not love her husband. The foil in the story is no less a character than Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The theme is the struggle for Oregon with Whitman's great ride used as heroics in a supreme effort to win the real love of his bride.

The story is interesting as a story but there will arise in the minds of pioneers who read it, the well known record of devotion of Whitman and his wife through their mutual struggles with savage surroundings up to the moment when both were hurled into death together at the Indian massacre. It will be hard to believe other intriguing at heartstrings though clever be the story in its telling.

In her "Foreword" the author lists twenty-seven books and authorities studied in preparing the manuscript. From the list are two important omissions one on each side of the great Whitman controversy. The two omitted works are Myron Eells: *Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot*, and William I. Marshall: *Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence About Marcus Whitman*. A study of these works may not have changed the novelist's viewpoint but it is certain that a study of the Whitman case is no longer complete without those two publications.

The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America. By LESLIE SPIER. (Seattle: University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 1925. Vol. I., No. 2, pages 69-88.)

An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration. By LESLIE SPIER. (No 3 of above, 1925. Pp. 89-112.)

Klallam Folk Tales. By ERNA GUNTHER. (No. 4 of above. Pp. 113-170.)

The above publications from the University of Washington Press all bear the date of August, 1925. The first number in the volume, "The Whaling Equipment of the Makah Indians", by T. T. Waterman, covering pages 1-67 appeared in June, 1920. The present publications are well explained by their titles. They are

each the result of original research in the field and give promise of much more study along similar lines in the Pacific Northwest.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. *Annual Reports for the Year 1920*. (Washington: Government, 1925. Pp. 334.)

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings, Volume 58*. (Boston: The Society, 1925. Pp. 477.)

SHAMBAUGH, BENJAMIN F. Editor. *County Government and Administration in Iowa*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1925. Pp. 716.)

TABER, JOHN H. *The Story of the 168th Infantry*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1925. Two Volumes.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Waldman's "Americana"

Book collectors are finding Milton Waldman's *Americana, the Literature of American History*, a most informing and readable book. This volume gives in concise form an account of the principal books that record the history of the discovery, conquest and colonization of America. The value of this delightful account of early printed narratives is enhanced by bibliographical anecdote and occasional words of counsel. The following passage is quoted from the Foreword: "A word about prices. Price is a question that inevitably crops up where rare books are discussed, and I fancy that they interest the public no less than the collector. Hence I give them frequently, but with the distinct understanding that they are not there for the purpose of airing my belief that rare books are a good investment. One hears a good deal about books purchased for ten dollars and sold for a thousand. There are such cases, but they are altogether exceptional, and signify nothing . . . When I cite the rapid increase in the value of certain books, it is merely because such increases are the arresting exception, not the rule."

Prices of Western Books

So much has been said of recent years about the advance in prices of Western Americana that Mr. Waldman's statement might not seem to check with the facts. It would be easily possible to compile from the auction records of the last few years a set of figures showing a phenomenal increase in prices. It is quite possible on the other hand to prepare a similar list showing declines from the spectacular prices of previous years. A notable example of such decline may be cited in the case of Johnson and Winter, *Route across the Rocky Mountains* (*Checklist* 1966) which has a record of three sales in the past five years, as follows: 1920, \$770; 1922, \$590; 1923, \$316. Another example is that of Thom, *Claims to the Oregon Territory Considered* (*Checklist* 3971) which has the following American auction record: 1919, \$19; 1921, \$30; 1922, \$10; January 1923, \$15. In July 1923, the writer found eight copies of this item in original condition, uncut, for sale at the establishment of a well known London dealer at eight shillings each.

It would be extremely hazardous to generalize from the records of a few unusual items. If a sufficient number of the more standard items are taken and the record is made to cover a considerable number of years, Mr. Waldman's observations will doubtless be substantiated. The following records on two well known books cover the American auction records of the past ten years:

Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains*, (Checklist 4006): 1915, \$6.25, \$9.25; 1917, \$6; 1918, \$6.50; 1919, \$10.10; 1920, \$12.50; 1921, \$7; 1922, \$11; 1923, \$15; 1924, \$8.

Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, London, 1841 (Checklist 629): 1916, \$6.50; 1917, \$19, \$9.25; 1918, \$6.30, \$9; 1920, \$16; 1921, \$9.50; 1922, \$11.50; 1923, \$11.

Records of 1923-1924

Volume XXX of *American Book-Prices Current*, covering the auction season of 1923-1924, has recently appeared. An examination of the titles listed reveals the sale of many items of Western Americana. Some of these, notably files of early newspapers, brought extreme prices. On the whole it would appear that buyers have used greater caution than in previous years. The following records seem to point toward a stabilization of scarce and rare items at a somewhat lower level than the high plane of the two or three previous years:

Anderson, <i>Dominion of the West</i> (Checklist 94).....	\$22.50
Bolduc, <i>Mission de la Colombie</i> , 1843. (Checklist 378)....	25.00
Broughton, <i>Voyage of discovery</i> (Checklist 485).....	36.00
Brown, <i>Political History of Oregon</i> (Checklist 491).....	27.50
Burnett, <i>Recollections and Opinions</i> (Checklist 541)....	10.00
Eells, <i>History of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington</i> (Checklist 1091).....	10.00
Kane, <i>Wanderings of an Artist</i> (Checklist 2003).....	27.50
<i>The same.</i> Another copy.....	17.00
Lander, F. W. <i>Remarks on the Construction of a Railway to the Pacific</i> (Not in Checklist).....	10.00
Lee and Frost. <i>Ten Years in Oregon</i> (Checklist 2146)..<	8.50
Sproat, <i>British Columbia</i> (Checklist 3811).....	7.50
Stevens, <i>Address on the Northwest</i> (Checklist 3846)....	15.00
Wade, <i>Founding of Kamloops</i> (Not in Checklist).....	10.00
Wilkes, <i>Western America</i> (Checklist 4402).....	15.00

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Mullan Road Markers

Eight miles east of Cheney by the side of the state highway between Spangle and Cheney stands a beautiful marker of the famous Mullan Road. The unveiling ceremonies took place on Wednesday, September 30, 1925. The program on that occasion consisted of the following:

1. Invocation by Rev. H. M. Painter.
2. Remarks by C. S. Kingston, of the State Normal School at Cheney, Chairman of the Day.
3. Address by N. W. Durham, of Spokane.
4. Brief remarks by President N. D. Showalter of the State Normal School at Cheney; W. P. Bonney, Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society; Edward E. Lane, Chaplain of Fort George Wright; D. T. Ham, former Spokane County Commissioner; and Louis Yale, a pioneer stage coach driver.

About 150 persons were present at the ceremonies.

The marker consists of a pyramid of field stones set in cement and resting on a concrete base. Into the side facing the road is set a table of dark gray marble. At the top are engraved the initials "M. R." for Mullan Road. Below the initials is engraved the following record:

"Military Wagon Road. Located by Captain John Mullan, 1858-1862. Crossed Highway Here. Pyramid Erected by Cheney Post No. 72 American Legion, Assisted by History Department State Normal School. Tablet placed by Washington State Historical Society, 1925."

Mr. Durham in his address and the other speakers in their brief remarks made clear the meaning of the Mullan Road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla in the history of the Northwest. This same service was rendered by the newspapers of Cheney, Spokane and other cities in that neighborhood.

Mention should be made here of the fact that Montana is greatly interested in the work of marking the Mullan Road. State Historian Frank D. Brown was especially active in the placing of monuments. When the monument was erected at Mullan, Idaho, on September 22, 1918, a pamphlet was issued reciting the

history of the famous road. Other markers and monuments have been placed along the road in Montana and Idaho.

The prime movers in the work of placing this new marker near Cheney were J. Orin Oliphant and Rev. H. M. Painter. They are already at work on other markers to be placed along the road. Mr. Oliphant is a member of the History Department of the State Normal School at Cheney and Mr. Painter, pastor of the Congregational Church at Cheney, is the son of W. C. Painter, a pioneer and volunteer in the Indian wars of 1855 and 1878. On his mother's side, Mr. Painter is a great-grandson of Robert Moore, who came to the Oregon country in 1840. By birth and breeding Mr. Painter is thoroughly imbued with a love for the history of the Pacific Northwest.

The same men, under the auspices of the Ladies' Aid of Lamont and the Washington State Historical Society, unveiled a similar monument on the Mullan Road at Lamont, Washington, on Saturday afternoon, December 5, 1925. Mrs. W. W. Shields presided and addresses were delivered by Rev. H. M. Painter, E. W. Truitt, Richard Millman and Robert Wallace.

Prescott, Washington, celebrated Admission Day, November 11, by erecting a Mullan Road marker at that place. The ceremonies were under the auspices of the Prescott Board of Trade and the principal address was delivered by T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, the great authority on Columbia River history.

These Mullan Road markers are in line with others of a similar nature and show that the people of the Northwest are awakening to an important service. While discussing another occasion, the *Oregonian*, of Portland, Oregon, said:

"By neglect to localize outstanding episodes, the Northwest has fostered the illusion that the romance of history is peculiarly associated with older countries. It is measurably true of the entire region that there has been failure to act in this regard until opportunity to obtain verifiable data has forever passed."

Twenty-first Annual Historical Meeting

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its twenty-first annual meeting in Seattle on November 27-28, 1925. The general theme was the Pacific Rim, following the impulse of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in Honolulu during the summer.

The program for Friday afternoon, November 27, was as follows:

Our Asiatic Neighbors, by Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University.

Materials of the Nootka Sound Controversy in Mexican Archives, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California.

Canada on the Pacific, 1866-1925, by Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia.

On Friday evening at the annual dinner the presidential address was delivered by Professor William A. Morris of the University of California and brief addresses were given by many others. At the session on Saturday morning the more general program was as follows:

Growth of Legislative Independence in the Colonies, by Professor Donald O. Wagner of Reed College.

The Campaign of 1866, by Professor Edward McMahon of the University of Washington.

The Political Significance of the Marriage of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault, by Professor Henry S. Lucas of the University of Washington.

The program for the Teachers' Session on Saturday afternoon consisted of two papers and discussions upon them as follows:

The Westward Movement in the Decade of the Sixties, by Professor Dan E. Clark of the University of Oregon.

Importance of Asiatic History in Western Education, by Professor Herbert H. Gowen of the University of Washington.

At a business session these officers were chosen for 1926:

President, Oliver H. Richardson, University of Washington; Vice-President, Cardinal Goodwin, Mills College; Secretary-Treasurer, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; the above officers and W. N. Sage, University of British Columbia; Frank A. Golder, Stanford University, Olive Kuntz, California State Normal College of San Jose; John C. Parish, University of California, Southern Branch.

The committees for the 1925 meeting were as follows:

Program Committee: Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington; Miss Elizabeth Rowell, Broadway High School, Seattle; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University; Charles E. Chapman, University of California; Andrew Fish, University of Oregon.

General Committee: Edward McMahon, J. A. O. Larsen and Ebba Dahlin, University of Washington; Carl Mauelshagen, Washington State College; Manning Cox, Roosevelt High School, Seattle; J. Orin Oliphant, State Normal School, Cheney; Herbert C. Fish, State Normal School, Ellensburg.

Geographic Decisions

The United States Geographic Board, in its publication for June 1923 to June 1925, being the second supplement to the Fifth Report, has rendered many decisions affecting the Pacific Northwest. There are seventeen decisions for Oregon, thirty-seven for Idaho, thirty-eight for Montana, four for Wyoming, and forty for Washington.

The larger number of decisions in Washington relate to the San Juan Archipelago. Recent geological and other scientific surveys there revealed many duplications of names and the need of names where none were applied. The Board has shown a fine spirit of cooperation by correcting these faults. Due care was exercised to disturb as little as possible local usage.

At the meeting on October 7, the Board's decisions included six bearing on the Northwest. One of these was sanctioning local usage for the name of Mount Rosario, two miles southwest of Mount Constitution, Orcas Island. On some charts this hill (860 feet high) was shown as "Stony Hill." Three of the latest decisions are in Wallowa County, Oregon, where now are established Mount Bonneville, in honor of Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville; Chief Joseph, a mountain honoring the Indian leader; Mount Howard, an honor for General O. O. Howard. So far as known the peaks were referred to formerly as "Middle," "Tunnel Mountain" and "Signal."

The Oregonian's Diamond Jubilee

One of the most significant historical events of recent years was the celebration on December 4, 1925, of the *Oregonian's* seventy-fifth birthday. Pioneers from all parts of the Northwest, newspaper men, professors of history and others were the guests of the great paper. There was shown the pictorial story of the "Covered Wagon" and another picture of the progress of the *Oregonian* from the days of the hand-power Ramage press (the original also on exhibition) to the huge machines of the present

metropolitan newspapers. Appropriate addresses were delivered by the editor, Edgar B. Piper, and Professor Edmond S. Meany.

Sixteen hundred and ten sat down to the birthday dinner as guests of the *Oregonian*. Brief addresses were delivered by Mayor Baker, Governor Pierce and others. There was music, there were flowers, there was spontaneous goodfellowship. It was successful beyond words.

During the celebration it was declared that there are not more than two or three newspapers in America older than the *Oregonian* and only one, *Chicago Tribune*, which has continued so long under the one name and under the same management.

Probably no newspaper in the United States gives better or fuller editorial treatment to questions of history than has the *Oregonian* throughout its long career.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE PACIFIC RIM

The four leading papers in this issue comprise a symposium of studies on the Pacific Rim. They constituted the main portion of the program of the twenty-first annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held at the University of Washington on November 27 and 28, 1925.

The inspiration for the program came from the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Honolulu, Hawaii, during the summer. Professors Treat and Gowen were prominent participants in the meetings at both Honolulu and Seattle.

One study is missing from the present symposium: "Materials of the Nootka Sound Controversy in Mexican Archives," by Herbert E. Bolton, University of California. Professor Bolton, though speaking quite informally at the meeting, submitted abundant results of his extensive researches in the archives of Mexico. He pointed out the fact that the originals of hundreds of important Pacific history documents are carefully saved in Mexico. Copies of some of them, but not all of them by any means, are to be found in the more famous archives of Spain. He urged that those Mexican archives be studied and that the most important documents be copied in order that a more complete history may be written of Spanish influence on northern Pacific history.

In addition to the information appropriate for the occasion and its programs, the study deserves publication as a preliminary guide for any future researches by those seeking the prime sources of that interesting portion of history. It may be that the manuscript will be received for a future issue of this *Quarterly*.

The other four papers of the symposium are here given in the same order in which they were presented at the meeting: "Our Asiatic Nighbors," by Professor Payson J. Treat, Stanford University; "Canada on the Pacific: 1866-1925," by Professor Walter N. Sage, University of British Columbia; "The Movement to the Far West During the Decade of the Sixties," by Professor Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; and "Should We Study the History of Asia?" by Professor Herbert H. Gowen, University of Washington.

OUR ASIATIC NEIGHBORS

The title of this paper was prescribed by your Program Committee. The purpose was without doubt the generous one of assigning a subject so broad that it would cover any thoughts which I might care to present concerning the peoples and states of Eastern Asia. I must confess, however, that the title intrigued me, for it offered an opportunity to consider for a few moments a subject which has long held my interest. A very important feature of neighborhood relations is the opinion which one party holds of the others, or which the others hold of him. So this morning I would survey rapidly the changing opinions which the Western World has held regarding its Asiatic Neighbors.

From the time of Marco Polo down to the early nineteenth century the works of Western writers dealing with the Empire of China were, with few exceptions, laudatory in the extreme. The missionaries, the diplomats, the travellers and traders dwelt upon the vastness of the Empire, the wealth of the Court, the stability of the Government, and the industry and civilization of the people. Whereas the early Portuguese and Spanish conquerors imposed their will upon petty Indian princes and East Indian chieftains they soon learned that such high handed methods brought swift punishment in the Middle Kingdom. Even the Dutch and English traders humbly solicited commercial privileges instead of dictating the terms under which they would trade. A very considerable literature exists, much of it based upon a surprising range of information, and in large part the product of European missionaries who had considerable opportunities for securing at first hand, or through their acquaintance with Chinese authors, the materials which they used.

It was not until the surprising defeat of the Imperial forces by a small British expeditionary force in the so-called Opium War that the tradition of Chinese power and wealth fell to the ground. From that time, until the early part of the present century the general opinion of the West respecting China steadily declined. From being suppliants for favors the great powers of the West became haughty dictators, and China, too weak to defend herself, was only saved by the jealousies of her masters. The principles of the "open door" and the "integrity of China" were

Western devices to prevent the growth of any dominant foreign power in China.

At no time did Western opinion of China reach so low an ebb as immediately after the Boxer Uprising, in 1900. But within a very few years a change for the better was noticeable, as China entered upon that program of reform which seemed to mark the introduction of Western methods of political, educational, financial, and industrial development. With the surprising success of the Chinese Revolution, in 1911-1912, and the adoption of American political institutions it was natural for American publicists to look upon China with a sympathy rarely expressed in the past. While it might be said that the traditional attitude of the United States toward China was one of sympathy and friendship, the treatment of Chinese immigrants in our Western states and our national exclusion laws demonstrated a popular attitude at variance with the diplomatic one. And it may be clearly shown that popular opinion favorable to China did not develop until after the establishment of the Republic. From 1911 until the present time, China of all the Asiatic nations, has held the first place in American esteem. This was clearly manifest in the popular support given to China in her later troubles with Japan, and especially in regard to the Shantung controversy. The only clauses of the treaty of Versailles, aside from those dealing with the League of Nations, which received any adequate consideration in the Senate Debates in 1919 and 1920 were those which transferred the German rights in Shantung to Japan. Even the political anarchy which swept over China after the death of President Yuan Shih-kai, in 1916, did not affect American sympathy, and at the Washington Conference in 1921, and when the Tariff Conference was in session at Peking, American public opinion was with rare exceptions, squarely behind China and her aspirations.

The development of western opinion regarding Japan is quite another story. The early writers were as strong in their commendations as were those who first told the West about China. But the unfortunate religious conflicts of the early seventeenth century colored the accounts of the churchmen who furnished most of the information about Japan. Dutch writers, on the other hand, who had no religious bias, kept alive the traditions of culture, wealth, and good government. With the opening of Japan to western intercourse, in the fifties, there began that amazing acceptance of Western ideas and methods which soon gave Japan a hybrid civilization. Western teachers and advisers dwelt

upon the talents of her pupils, Western missionaries praised a land where the field was ripe for the gleaner and yet where missionaries were safe from the dangers which their co-workers in China had to face. Japan, seeking wisdom in all quarters of the world, won the approval of the teachers whom she sought out. The British admired their navy and their railroads, for they had helped to make them; the Germans approved of their armies and their universities, and some of their law codes; the French were the first to admire their arts, but they also helped to codify their laws and organize their courts; Americans helped to establish a school system which in a surprising time made Japan the only literate nation in all the East. There were a few hostile notes, but only a few; the tone of most Western books written between 1860 and 1905 was pitched in a key of admiration and praise. And when Japan, the prize pupil of Western training, humbled China, the vast but powerless exponent of the unbending East, a higher note was reached, which swelled to a crescendo when Russia, most feared of European Powers was humbled on the high seas and on Manchurian battle fields.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, therefore, Western opinion ran strongly against China, and just as strongly in favor of Japan. But in both cases the tide soon turned. In that of Japan the ebb began with the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. A school of publicists arose who swelled a chorus of alarm lest Japan, who had so decisively humbled Russia, would continue on a career of military aggression and expansion until she became the master not only of China but of all the European and American territories in the Far East. This very year saw the beginning of an anti-Japanese agitation in California which steadily increased in volume until discriminatory state laws, there and elsewhere, were followed by a Federal Exclusion Act in 1924. Just as opinion had been unreasoningly favorable before 1905 it became as unreasoningly unfavorable after that year. Although some attempts were made to stem this tide of hostility, most of the books and periodical and newspaper articles in the past twenty years were relentlessly critical of Japan. Certain catch phrases carried great import. China was the sister republic of Asia, Japan was the embodiment of military imperialism. No matter what might be the merits of the case, in every controversy between China and Japan American public opinion swung strongly to the support of its sister republic.

These waves of popular opinion have had no little influence

upon my own work as a student of Far Eastern History. My appointment to this field of teaching at Stanford came immediately after the close of the Russo-Japanese War, in 1906. The first books which I read were products of the period when China was out of favor and Japan in high esteem. As I pursued my own investigations I soon found that in both cases the judgments of all but the most thorough scholars were too extreme. That in many cases China had been more sinned against than sinning, and that the statesmen of New Japan were, after all, human in spite of their splendid talents. So when the tide began to run the other way I had some materials at hand with which to appraise the new mass opinions, and I again found that unreasoning praise of the Chinese Republic was even less defensible than sweeping condemnation of the Monarchy, while it was a very easy thing to run down the rumors on which many of the hostile criticisms of Japan were based and demonstrate their absurdity. It was but natural, however, for students who entered the field at a later date to be unconsciously impressed by the prevailing opinion of the time, and to start their investigations with a strong bias in favor of China and in opposition to Japan. I am impressed with this fact every time I read an apparently scholarly treatise which accepts without scrutiny the statements of earlier authors whom I know to be absolutely unreliable, and whose works reflect the popular opinion of the period in which they wrote. Year after year my seminar at Stanford has studied the various controversial questions of recent years and the moment access is had to the facts in the case the absurdities of many of the standard authorities become apparent.

In the few minutes which remain I would like to give three examples of popular opinions which run counter to the easily ascertained facts.

Early in 1915 Japan made certain demands upon China which soon became known as the "Twenty-one Demands." Scarcely a book has been written about Far Eastern policies since that time which has not dwelt at length upon this episode. That Japan made a grievous mistake in making such demands upon China I have never failed to assert, and, I believe, the best opinion in Japan today agrees with this position. But with the rarest exceptions the books and articles which describe these demands and the subsequent negotiations are marred by grievous errors in fact and in interpretation. What is rarely brought out is that the original demands contained strong articles which were manifestly

inserted for bargaining purposes, and that the treaties which finally resulted contained very great modifications in the terms and included practically nothing which China was not prepared to yield at the very beginning of the long discussions. At the close of the negotiations China published "An Official History of the Sino-Japanese Treaties" while Japan issued a statement which simply included the most important documents. The Chinese statement has been published in full in many places, and is the basis for most of the secondary treatments of the episode. The Japanese communiqué can be found only in rather inaccessible works, and has had little influence on Western opinion. I might add that the same thing happened at Paris in 1919, the Chinese claim for the direct restitution of Shantung was given the widest publicity in America, and may even be found in full in the pages of the Congressional Record, whereas the very important reply of Japan to this claim was never even printed, and exists today only in a mimeographed version as issued to the press. About a year ago the State Department published a belated volume dealing with our foreign relations for 1915 which contain 127 pages of correspondence and documents dealing with these Sino-Japanese negotiations. In the light of this material every study of the Twenty-one Demands will have to be rewritten. I would mention three very illuminating facts. We here learned for the first time that in 1900 our Navy Department desired to secure a coaling station at Samsah Inlet, north of Foochow, and Mr. John Hay sounded Japan to see if she would object to our securing such a lease in Fukien Province, which was a recognized Japanese sphere of interest. It doubtless will come as a surprise to many students of Far Eastern History to learn that so soon after Germany, Russia, Great Britain and France has secured naval bases in China, the United States should have made such a proposal. Japan replied that she did not wish any power to secure a lease in that Province, and the matter was dropped. But this American proposal was the basis of Japan's demand that she should be consulted first if China needed foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbor-works in the Province of Fukien. On the other hand the usual authorities instead of stating this real reason, give an apochryphal one.

We also learned that the American Department of State, after a careful scrutiny of the Japanese demands and in the light of information received from our representatives in Peking and Tokyo, informed Japan that in respect to sixteen of the demands

it was not disposed to raise any question. These included the demands regarding Shantung Province, for which Japan was so roundly denounced in the United States four years later, and regarding South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. Only five of the demands seemed objectionable to our State Department, two of these on the ground that they would be a violation of the principle of the "Open Door" and three because they were "clearly derogatory to the political independence and administrative entity of that country." Japan acceded to our suggestions in every case. Four of the demands were dropped, and the fifth was changed to an exchange of notes which, following our suggestion, stated that China would not permit any Power "to construct a dockyard, a coaling station for military use, or a naval base or to set up any other military establishment on the coast of Fukien Province, nor shall they allow any like establishment to be set up with any foreign capital on the said coast." In other words, there was absolutely nothing in the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 to which the American Government had taken the slightest offense. Yet I am afraid it will be many years before American opinion recognizes these simple facts.

The third example, also based upon these recently published documents, is even more remarkable. You may remember that in 1917 an exchange of notes was effected between Secretary of State Lansing and Viscount Ishii, the special representative of Japan. These notes, which were harmless in themselves, were at once given distorted significance. The phrase which caused the most trouble was one which stated: "The Government of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." This was interpreted, by alarmists, to mean that the United States would allow Japan a free hand in China. The fact that the notes went on to say that both governments denied that they had any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and declared that they would always adhere to the principle of the "open-door" in China was quite overlooked. Critics of Japan asserted that Viscount Ishii had hoodwinked Mr. Lansing, and support was given to this belief when, in 1919, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Lansing stated that the suggestion of inserting this statement in the agreement was made by Viscount Ishii.

We now have before us the letter of Secretary of State Bryan to the Japanese Ambassador, of March 13, 1915—two years before Viscount Ishii appeared in Washington—the very letter in which the American objections to five articles in the Twenty-one Demands were expressed. In this letter Mr. Bryan said: "The United States frankly recognizes that territorial contiguity creates special relations between Japan and these districts," namely, Shantung, South Manchuria, and East Mongolia. Thus the American Government, on its own motion, had frankly recognized the situation which, two years later, was expressed in the Lansing-Ishii notes. With these facts before us the whole framework of condemnation of Viscount Ishii and his government falls to the ground.

If time were available I could give many more instances of the conflict between popular opinion and easily ascertained facts. Every student of History is aware of this unfortunate situation. And the student of Far Eastern History should be especially on his guard because it is so difficult to get the facts and understand the other point of view when you are dealing with neighbors who represent a different culture, different ways of doing things, but who, after all, have the same aspirations and human needs as their neighbors across the Pacific.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

Stanford University.

CANADA ON THE PACIFIC: 1866-1925

Among the nations which border the Pacific the Dominion of Canada has, in the past, played a relatively insignificant part in determining the destiny of that mightiest of all oceans. This has been very natural. In the first place Canada is not an independent state, she is part of the far-flung and world-embracing British Empire. Until the Great War she had no part in determining the foreign policy of that Empire and naturally, therefore, concentrated her attention on her domestic affairs. On two occasions, in the matters of the Bering Sea Seal Fisheries and the Alaskan Boundary, Canada displayed a real interest in international problems affecting the Pacific. She also took a leading part in the launching of the Pacific Cable scheme and even called the Ottawa Conference in 1894, attended by representatives from the Motherland and the leading British Colonies, at which the project was thoroughly discussed and suitable recommendations made. But in the main her eyes have been turned not to the west, but to the east and south, to the Homeland and to her great republican neighbor. The center of population in Canada is still in the east, in Ontario and Quebec, and British Columbia, although not so isolated as she was before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the later transcontinentals, is and always will be cut off geographically from the remainder of Canada by the immense barrier of the Rocky Mountains. The journey from Vancouver to Ottawa, the federal capital, requires four days, while that from Montreal to Ottawa occupies hardly as many hours. Need one wonder that the claims of the financial metropolis of Canada are heard more frequently and with much more sympathy than are those of the Pacific ports? Canada still faces the Atlantic. Some day she may realize more fully her destiny on the Pacific.

Before one can discuss Canada's present position as a Pacific power it is first necessary to trace the process by which British Columbia came into being and by which she linked her fortunes with those of her sister provinces in Eastern Canada. Space forbids one to sketch even in the barest outlines the voyages of Drake, Cook, and the Russian, Spanish and American explorers, or to tell once more the story of the Nootka Sound controversy. The epoch-

marking work of Captain George Vancouver cannot be traced in detail, neither is it possible to follow Alexander Mackenzie across continent "from Canada by land" to his rock in Dean Channel on the Pacific Coast.¹ Nor can one cross the rockies in a blinding snow storm with David Thompson, nor come down the canyons with Simon Fraser, clambering around overhanging precipices on Indian ladders where human foot had no right to tread. One must pass over the romantic story of the Nor-Westers at Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, at Kootanae House on Lake Windermere, and at Fort Kamloops. No mention can be made of Fort Langley or Fort Victoria, nor even of the stout little *Beaver*, the pioneer steamship of the Northwest Coast. One may not dwell on the colonization of Vancouver Island nor on the gold rush to the Fraser in 1858. The camels of the Cariboo Road and the golden creeks of Cariboo can receive no detailed mention and the story of the governorship of Sir James Douglas, who built the "Appian Way of British Columbia" will remain untold.

The point of departure will be the forced union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1866. These two struggling British possessions, founded respectively in 1849 and in 1858, had fallen upon evil days. The Cariboo mines were not yielding in 1866 the untold wealth they had produced in the early 'sixties and Victoria, the only town of importance in the two colonies, was now faced by bankruptcy. We read in the *Victoria British Colonist* for June 5, 1866, the following rather embittered description of conditions in the colony of Vancouver Island:

"The San Francisco steamer takes away today fourteen or fifteen families. We say nothing of the able-bodied single men who are leaving us—although every industrious man is worth several hundred dollars to the country—but the loss of a family in our present infant condition can scarcely be computed. Nothing can be a surer index of mismanagement—of gross mismanagement—than such an exodus. It is an indelible disgrace to the colony and its rulers. With abundance of good agricultural land, with a magnificent climate, with our coast full of harbors, our waters full of fish, and our forests almost inexhaustible, with copper here, iron there, and coal everywhere—with, in fact, the most astonishing diversity of resources that can be found in any

¹ This rock was identified during the summer of 1923 by Captain R. P. Bishop of Victoria B.C. It is situated only a few miles from the present town of Ocean Falls, B.C. Captain Bishop's account of his discovery is to be found in his "Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Rock, End of the First Journey across North America," Ottawa, Department of the Interior, (1925), Historic Site Series, No. 6.

country throughout the globe and contiguous to a rich gold mining country—we have to-day no industry on the Island—no employment for the returned miner—nothing but a steamer to carry away our population.”

Conditions were not much better in the mainland colony of British Columbia. Settlement was very sparse indeed and agriculture was yet in its infancy. Once the gold began to fail, the colony declined. Expenditure exceeded revenue and deficit was piled on deficit. Every possible article was taxed, but sufficient revenue could not be raised. The colony possessed a full set of officials whose salaries had to be paid, no matter how the colonial debt increased.

In view of these facts the British Government passed an act uniting the two colonies. The union was unpopular in British Columbia, especially in New Westminster, and was not enthusiastically welcomed by Vancouver Island. But it was an obvious necessity unless both colonies were to become hopeless bankrupts. Vancouver Island lost her Legislative Assembly and Victoria ceased to be a “free port.” A Legislative Council, the majority of whose members were appointed and the minority popularly elected, was set up. After some bickering the capital of the united colony was fixed at Victoria. Frederick Seymour, the former governor of the mainland, was placed over the new colony.

The years from 1866 to 1871, from the union to federation with the Dominion of Canada, were crucial in the development of the British on the Northwest Coast. Three courses lay open to British Columbia. She might continue to be a struggling and isolated British possession, thousands of miles from her nearest sister colony. She might accomplish her “manifest destiny” and enter the great American union, or she might join with the eastern provinces of British North America in forming the proposed “Kingdom of Canada.” There was little, if anything, to be gained from isolation. It was, therefore, necessary for British Columbia to choose between annexation and federation.

Annexation was a very inviting proposal. Many, if not the majority, of the gold seekers of 1858 who came to the Fraser from California were American citizens. Victoria was full of Americans and the national holidays of the United States were duly in this very British town celebrated each year. Economically the colony was bound to San Francisco by closer ties than she was to the Motherland. Britain was far away, but the Puget Sound

ports were only a day's journey or so from Victoria and New Westminster, and a line of steamers was running regularly to San Francisco. Canada was even more inaccessible than Britain. American currency circulated at par in British Columbia and on one occasion at least letters were mailed from Victoria post office bearing United States postage stamps. Even after federation with Canada the notes of the Bank of Montreal were at a discount in New Westminster, although American bank notes were everywhere accepted at par. It was not until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 that Canadian currency was commonly used in British Columbia.

One of the great arguments in favor of annexation was that British Columbia would be linked up with the American transcontinental railroads then projected or in course of construction. It was not considered probable by the exponents of annexation that Canada could undertake the immense expense of building a railway across three thousand miles of wilderness in order to connect British Columbia with the railways of the Dominion. The American transcontinentals were bound in time to connect the Puget Sound ports with the eastern states and British Columbia would thus readily secure that communication with eastern North America so essential to her progress.

Then, too, many British Columbians felt that there was practically no difference between the forms of government of the United States and of the British North American Provinces. There were many Americans, but few Canadians, in the colony. With Britain there was a sentimental tie but none with Canada. Britain, however, was not much interested in her more remote colonies. It was the day of "Little Englanders" and the Manchester School of economists. Even the *London Times*, then at the height of its influence, in a leading article declared that the Motherland could not prevent British Columbia from joining the United States if she should seriously consider so doing. In 1867 a petition was forwarded to the British Government by certain annexationists on Vancouver Island requesting that the colony be allowed to join the United States and later another petition was formally presented to President Grant asking for annexation. There was even a rumor that British Columbia might be handed over to the American Republic as a settlement in full of the Alabama Claims.

But the annexationists in British Columbia always remained

a noisy minority. They secured the support of two newspapers and of certain influential men including Honorable John Sebastian Helmcken, former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, and of Honorable J. Despard Pemberton, former Colonial Surveyor. Never the less they could not convince the majority of their fellow countrymen that British Columbia should round out the United States on the Pacific Coast from forty-nine to fifty-four, forty. The Pacific colony was determined to remain *British Columbia*. The only alternative, therefore, to annexation was federation with Canada.

There were, however, difficulties in the way of federation. Governor Seymour did not really desire union with Canada and the official class saw in it the end of their control over the government of the colony. There was a growing demand in British Columbia for responsible government and it was certain that when the colony entered the Dominion a Legislative Assembly on the model of those existing in the eastern Canadian provinces would be set up. Amor de Cosmos, editor of the *Victoria Standard* and John Robson, editor of the *New Westminster British Columbian* kept up the fight for federation. The Legislative Council on March 18, 1867, passed a resolution in favor of union with Canada, but Governor Seymour took no steps to carry the matter farther. In January, 1868, a public meeting held in Victoria warmly endorsed the principle of federation; in May a Confederation League was formed; and in September the Yale Convention went on record as favoring the terms proposed by De Cosmos in April but voted down by the official majority in the Legislative Council.

And so the fight went on until in June, 1869, the sudden death of Governor Frederick Seymour deprived the official members of their natural leader. The new governor, Anthony Musgrave, appointed at the suggestion of Sir John A. Macdonald, favored federation, and although Dr. Helmcken kept up a brave fight against the inevitable, the issue was never in doubt after Musgrave's arrival. The Legislative Council in 1870, in a series of memorable debates, discussed terms of federation. Dr. Helmcken declared that "the people of the Colony have, generally speaking, no love for Canada," and that "Therefore no union on account of love need be looked for." But he was championing a lost cause. The people of British Columbia desired federation as the best possible solution of their problems. British they were

and were determined to remain. They were ready, if need be, to become Canadians.

The terms of union were duly drawn up and approved by both parties. British Columbia officially entered the Dominion of Canada on July 20, 1871. Canada had reached the Pacific and had entered upon a new epoch in her development. But the union could not be considered complete until a transcontinental railway connected Atlantic with Pacific. But how was a country so thinly populated and as poor as Canada then was to undertake to build a railway from sea to sea? British Columbia had rightly insisted on the construction of the railway as one of the chief terms of federation. Unless she had access to Eastern Canada within a reasonable time she could hope to gain nothing from her entrance into the Dominion. While sentiment had kept her British, it was the economic rather than the sentimental motive which led the Pacific Province to join her eastern sisters. All her hopes were centred in the railway. The iron horse, and, to a lesser extent, a protective tariff, could set at naught the hard facts of geography and weld Canada into one nation from Halifax to Victoria. The Dominion, on her part, needed British Columbia just as she needed Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in order to round out federation and to prevent her being shut in by American territory on the west as well as on the south. Canada needed an outlet on the Pacific, not so much as a base for possible trade with the Orient, for that was still in its infancy, as for strategic reasons. She could never hope to become a great nation unless her territory stretched unbroken from ocean to ocean. It is true that British Columbia was declared to be nothing but a "sea of mountains" and it was claimed that the transcontinental railway "would never pay for its axle-grease," but fortunately for Canada Sir John A. Macdonald and his ministers realized the necessity of making terms with the British colony on the far-off Pacific coast. There were many in Canada who had vision enough to foresee the part which the vast open spaces of the Hudson's Bay Territories would play in the subsequent development of the Dominion, although probably few realized the importance which within a short half century the Pacific Ocean would assume in world affairs, and how necessary it would be for Canada to have an outlet on that ocean. British Columbia was far away but it was under the Union Jack and there was a real desire to extend the Dominion to the Western Sea. Joseph Howe prophesied in one of his speeches that

some of his audience would live to hear the whistle of a locomotive in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains and George Brown looked forward to the day when "the British American flag shall proudly wave from Labrador to Vancouver Island and from our own Niagara to the shores of Hudson Bay." These dreams were to be realized. The Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its rights of sovereignty over its territories to the Dominion of Canada and, in 1870, the Province of Manitoba was created and the Northwest Territories organized. The next year British Columbia joined federation. Need one wonder that the Royal Arms of Canada today bear as their proud motto "*A Mari usque ad Mare*"?

By the terms of union the Dominion of Canada undertook "to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of the Union, of a Railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such a point as may be selected, east of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further to secure the completion of such Railway within ten years from the date of Union." The Dominion also promised to provide "an efficient mail service, fortnightly, by steam communication between Victoria and San Francisco, and twice a week between Victoria and Olympia." Thus British Columbia was to secure the much needed communication with the outside world.

From 1871 to 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was finally completed from Montreal to Port Moody on Burrard Inlet, the carrying out of the terms of union was vital to both the Province and the Dominion. The federal cabinet decided to place the construction of the railroad in private hands, although certain sections were built by the Dominion and later transferred to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Preliminary surveys were made by Sir Sandford Fleming and for a time all went well. But the ministry of Sir John A. Macdonald fell in 1873 as a result of the "Pacific Scandal" and the Liberal administration of Alexander Mackenzie was unfavorable to the railway project. Difficulties occurred between the Government of British Columbia and the Dominion cabinet with the result that in 1878 the provincial Prime Minister, George A. Walkem, introduced into the Provincial Legislature a secession resolution. Fortunately for Canada the Mackenzie ministry fell and the question of secession was quietly dropped.

In 1880, the present Canadian Pacific Railway Company was

formed and construction work began in real earnest. The building of the railway was the epic of Western Canada. Even today, forty years after the driving of the last spike at Craigellachie, B. C., on November 7, 1885, we wonder at the sublime daring of the men who planned and constructed the line through the Kicking Horse Pass or along the frowning canyons of the Fraser. Probably it is the romantic side of the railway's history which now has the greatest appeal, but then there was little or no time to waste in romantic dreams. The necessity was too great. "*Dum conderet urbem*" ("Till he found the city") was the goad of "pius Aeneas" until at length he reached Latium; "*Craigellachie*", ("*Stand fast!*" or "*Stick to it!*") was the motto of the builders of the Canadian Pacific. The letters "C. P. R." now hold in most of Western Canada the paramount position once enjoyed by "H. B. C." Not only does that company control the greatest railway system in the Dominion which is in private hands, but its subsidiary organization, the Canadian Pacific Ocean Steamships Services Company, has fleets on both Atlantic and Pacific. The close connection between the Canadian Pacific Railway and some of the most important financial institutions of the country has long been evident. Without the Canadian Pacific Railway the Dominion of Canada could never have reached the Pacific in fact as well as in name.

Soon after the entrance of the Pacific Province into federation Canada was forced to take cognisance of the existence of an Oriental problem in British Columbia. The first Chinese to arrive in what is now Western Canada had come in the gold rush of 1858 to the Fraser River. At first there was no feeling against Orientals. They worked hard and made money out of claims which the white miners had abandoned for El Dorados farther north. In 1863, the Chinese population in British Columbia was estimated at twenty-five hundred. Later the Chinese worked north to Cariboo. There the first agitation took place against the low rate of wages which the Asiatics were willing to accept. In 1872, the Provincial Legislature first grappled with the question. Resolutions were brought in, but defeated, to tax the Chinese \$50 a year and to bar them from federal and provincial public works. Further efforts to tax the Chinese proved equally unavailing. In 1879, the Canadian House of Commons took up the matter and a select committee reported that "Chinese immigration ought not to be encouraged" and that "Chinese labor ought not to be employed on Dominion public works."

Large numbers of Chinese were brought in as navvies during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. During the four years, 1881 to 1884, no less than 15,701 Orientals arrived. The outcry against them rose higher and higher and in 1885 the British Columbia Legislature passed an act placing a head tax of \$50 on every Chinese immigrant. This act was a reply to the findings of a commission of the Dominion Parliament which in 1884 had investigated the charges against the Chinese and had reported in favor of the Orientals. The provincial act of 1885 was disallowed by the Dominion, but before the end of that year the federal government yielded to provincial pressure and imposed a head tax of \$50. The clamor against Oriental immigration then died down for a time, but there was still a demand that Chinese be excluded from public works and coal mines. But the immigration problem grew serious again in the late 'nineties and as a result the Dominion Government increased the head tax to \$100 and in 1902 to \$500, at which figure it remained until 1923 when all further Chinese immigration was forbidden. The Chinese in British Columbia have almost completely monopolized market gardening, and in the smaller towns the laundries and restaurants. Chinese restaurants are also to be found in nearly all the eastern Canadian cities and towns. Ten years ago in Kingston, Ontario, a small city of about 20,000 population, there was not a white restaurant left. The Chinaman was the undisputed master of the field. But, in spite of these facts, there is now relatively little agitation against the Chinese either in British Columbia or in any other part of Canada.

The problem of Japanese immigration has been, however, much more serious. The Japanese began to arrive in large numbers during the year 1907. Before that date, they had been coming in slowly but steadily, but in that year it was evident to the exclusionists in British Columbia that unless measures could be taken to stem the rising tide of Orientals the Pacific Province would cease to be a white man's country. An Asiatic Exclusion League was formed on August 12, 1907. Feeling against the Japanese ran high especially in the city of Vancouver. It was claimed that Europeans had been ousted from the fishing industry, and that the Orientals, particularly the Japanese, were seriously invading the saw mills, shingle mills and lumber camps, thus preventing the white men from obtaining employment. Labor agitators from the United States arrived to fan the flames. On Sep-

tember 8th race riots broke out in Vancouver. The mob attacked the Chinese and the Japanese quarters. "Chinatown" suffered greatly, but the Japanese drove off the invaders. At length order was restored by the police, but not until the Japanese had clearly demonstrated their ability to take care of themselves.

Japanese exclusion was demanded repeatedly during this period but it was impossible for the Province to pass legislation on this subject which would not be vetoed by the Dominion Government. As far back as 1900, the British Columbia Legislature had carried through an Immigration Act which required that every immigrant should be able to read the act in some European language. The Japanese consul in Vancouver had protested against this act as directed against his fellow countrymen and therefore as hostile to a friendly power. The Dominion disallowed this act and a similar fate befell acts of a like nature in 1902, 1904, 1905 and 1908. The act of 1907 was refused assent by the Lieutenant-Governor. The situation was further complicated after 1902 by the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. That alliance, essential as it was for Great Britain and the British Empire as a whole, was galling in the extreme to the exclusionists in British Columbia. Canada could not embarrass Britain and endanger the alliance by supporting British Columbian demands for Oriental exclusion. A way out was found by means of the Gentlemen's Agreement, 1907, whereby Japanese immigration was carefully regulated. As a result of this agreement the number of Japanese laborers admitted to Canada was restricted by Japan to four hundred. Later this number was reduced to one hundred and fifty. A few Japanese are still coming to Canada. During the six months ending September 30, 1925, the number of such immigrants entering the country for the purpose of taking up permanent residence was two hundred and thirty-seven.² In one week in 1907 two hundred and thirty-three Japanese were reported to have arrived in British Columbia. These statistics are eloquent!

The Japanese difficulty was hardly disposed of when Canada had to face another immigration problem, that of the natives of British India. These "Hindoos", most of whom are really Sikhs, are British subjects and have bitterly resented the treatment they have received from their fellow subjects in Canada. But British Columbians have been rigid in their determination to exclude East Indians and in this they have been supported by a majority of

² Vancouver *Daily Province*, November 25, 1925.

Canadians. In 1914, matters came to a head when the Japanese vessel *Komagata Maru* arrived at Vancouver with many hundred East Indians on board. The usual cry against cheap Oriental labor was raised and serious outbreaks occurred on the Vancouver waterfront. But the *Komagata Maru* sailed away with the East Indians on board, and the incident closed. These East Indians on their return to their native land were involved in difficulties with the British authorities. Thus the exclusion by Canada of the Indians was noised abroad over the length and breadth of Hindustan. When the Great War broke out a few weeks later, a dangerous propaganda was commenced by agitators among the Sikhs of Vancouver urging them to stir up revolution in India. Fortunately this came to nothing, but it clearly showed that the Indian nationalists were not forgetful of their fellow countrymen in British Columbia.

At the Imperial Conference of 1917, at which representatives of India were present, the members agreed that British Indians resident in the Overseas Dominions were to be treated as equals by the white men. These natives of India were to be allowed to bring in, as permanent residents, one wife and the children of that wife. But the Canadian authorities have not lived up to this agreement. Immigration of East Indian women and children has been barred, and according to the election laws of British Columbia, East Indians, as well as Chinese, Japanese and North American Indians, are disfranchised. Since in Canada federal lists are made up from provincial lists this means that "Hindoos" can not vote in the federal elections. Thus the British Indians in Canada have a real grievance against both the provincial and the federal authorities. In spite of this there has been no trouble to speak of since 1914 and the "Hindoos" in Canada, numbering about twelve hundred, have been quiet, law-abiding residents of the country. This vexed problem, although not finally solved, is at present quiescent.

On two occasions since the federation the interests of Canada and the United States have clashed on the Pacific. The Alaskan Boundary was the more important and more vexatious question of the two. It is not proposed to enter at any length into this thorny subject. The solution provided in the award of 1903, although just in principle, was not popular in Canada, and it was widely felt that once again Canada had suffered in the cause of Anglo-American friendship. In the matter of pelagic sealing the

claim of the United States that Bering Sea was *mare clausum* led to rather serious complications. British sealing vessels were seized by American cruisers. Many of these vessels were from Victoria, B. C., then the center of the Canadian deep-sea sealing industry. Great Britain protested and in 1892 a treaty of arbitration was signed by Great Britain and the United States. The arbitrators, who met in Paris, issued their award on August 15, 1893. Bering Sea was declared to be part of the Pacific Ocean, but no sealing was to be allowed in that sea, nor in any part of the Pacific Ocean north of 35° north latitude, between May 1st and July 31st of each year. The United States were ordered to pay damages for twenty vessels which had been unlawfully seized and for others which had been prevented from sealing in Bering Sea. After considerable delay the owners of the vessels were compensated. Finally in 1911 another treaty was signed, the signatory powers being Great Britain, United States, Russia and Japan, prohibiting pelagic sealing north of 35° north latitude. Russia, Japan and the United States agreed to hand over to Canada a certain proportion of the seal skins annually taken. The same three countries covenanted to give to each other a portion of the annual catch of seals. The result of this treaty, which was to continue for fifteen years, was to ruin the Victoria sealers. Canadian sealing vessels disappeared from the Pacific.

During the early years of the twentieth century Canada began to throw off the colonial status and to assert her rights as a self-governing nation of the British Empire. Canadian troops fought for the Empire in the South African War and at the Colonial Conferences of 1897 and 1902 Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the spokesman of colonial nationality. The opening up of the fertile lands of the Canadian prairie, the setting up of the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905, and the increased immigration into the Dominion were all factors in the awakening of Canadian nationalism. In 1907 the Colonial Conference became the Imperial Conference, and in 1911 the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, freely discussed foreign policy with the Dominion Prime Ministers. A Defence Conference had been held in 1909 and it was on this occasion that Canada first seriously considered the problem of naval defence on both Atlantic and Pacific. A Canadian fleet was to be formed, the Pacific base being at Esquimalt which was now manned by Canadian troops. But the Canadian navy became the football of politicians, and at the outbreak

of the Great War in 1914 the navy on the Pacific consisted of one vessel, H. M. C. S. *Rainbow*, although one should not forget the purchase by Sir Richard McBride, then Prime Minister of British Columbia, of two submarines which were being constructed in Seattle for a South American government. During the war Japanese men-of-war, and after 1917 American cruisers, guarded Canada's Pacific shores. The Australian fleet did yeoman service, and H.M.S. *New Zealand*, the gift of the Dominion whose name it bore, fought as a unit of the Royal Navy. The Canadian navy was conspicuous by its absence. It had been ruined by the politicians.

After the Great War, Pacific problems assumed an international importance hitherto unknown, and all eyes were turned toward the ocean of oceans. It became evident that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would have to be revised or replaced by an agreement among the powers which had interests in the Pacific. At the Imperial Conference of 1921 the Canadian Prime Minister, Arthur Meighen, denounced the alliance and made it clear that Canada did not wish its continuance. The views of Canada and the United States on this matter were practically identical. Canadians regarded with favor the decisions of the Washington Conference, which appeared to have provided at least a temporary solution of the vexed problems of the Pacific.

The change in Canada's status, along with that of the other self-governing Dominions, was made evident to the world at the Peace Conference and again in 1923 when the so-called "Halibut Treaty" was signed by Canadian and American representatives. Canada had thus secured treaty-making powers and had entered into an agreement regarding the fisheries of the Pacific Coast. Before this Canada had enjoyed certain treaty-making rights, but she had always worked with the assistance of British officials. Her ministers had signed treaties before, but on this occasion the signature of the British Ambassador at Washington was not placed on the document. Lapointe, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, alone signed the treaty on behalf of Canada. This action on Canada's part was officially endorsed at the Imperial Conference which met the same year.

The opening of the Panama Canal has resulted in a great increase in the Pacific trade of Canada. Vancouver has become the second port in the Dominion and the third on the Pacific Coast of North America. Over fifty-five million bushels of grain and

nearly four hundred million feet of lumber were shipped from that port in 1924. During the same year 1009 sea-going vessels called at Vancouver. The number of sea-going vessels out of Montreal in the same year was 1223. Not all of this trade goes through the canal. Much of it is with China and Japan or with the Antipodes. Canadian exports to China in 1924 amounted to \$13,000,000, to Japan, \$27,000,000, to Australia, \$19,900,000, and to New Zealand, \$12,700,000. Canada is now obtaining a fair share of the trade of the Pacific. The new commercial treaty with Australia just negotiated by the Mackenzie King government should add to this overseas commerce.

To conclude: Canada is now finding her place on the Pacific. Her aims are peaceable. Her armaments are negligible. She seeks to advance her cause not by war but through avenues of trade. She is steadily building up a large mercantile marine, including immense vessels which belong to the Dominion Government. Already Canadian grain is being extensively used in the Orient where wheat is now taking the place of rice as a staple article of diet. In common with all other English-speaking nations on the "Pacific Rim" she is forced to solve the vexed problem of Asiatic immigration. But she is attempting to provide a solution which will not injure the feelings of the Asiatics. The "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan has worked well. Chinese exclusion since 1923 seems to have produced no very hard feelings. The British Indian question, though not satisfactorily settled, is dormant.

Canadians are now becoming more interested in Pacific affairs. True this interest is as yet mainly confined to those dwelling on the Pacific Coast, but in time it will become nation-wide. Canadian delegates, including several from Eastern Canada, have attended Pan-Pacific Science Congresses. Last summer Canadians were present at the Honolulu meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Unlike the United States of America and her fellow Dominions, Australia and New Zealand, Canada has no insular possessions in the Pacific. She holds no mandate under the League of Nations. She merely occupies a few hundred miles of the North-east Pacific littoral. But for all that Canada is *on* the Pacific and will, we trust, become *of* the Pacific.

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THE MOVEMENT TO THE FAR WEST DURING THE DECADE OF THE SIXTIES

There is scarcely a school child who does not know something of the early migrations over the Oregon Trail and of the rush to California in the gold days. These romantic western thrusts of the American people have become classic in our historical literature and historians can find little to write that is not repetition of oft-told tales. It does not appear, however, that much serious attention has been given to the later movements which carried much larger numbers of people into the far west and laid the foundations for permanent prosperity.

The present paper deals in a rather impressionistic fashion with the movement to the far west during the decade of the sixties. This decade has a special interest because it witnessed a westward movement which was surprisingly continuous in spite of a civil war, and because the completion of the first transcontinental railroad at the close of the decade wrought a great change in the conditions of life in the far west. The paper presents a general view of the volume, motives, and characteristics of the migrations of this period, together with some account of the services of communication and transportation. The term "far west" has been used roughly to include the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain regions. It is obvious that a paper of this character can constitute only a general survey. In fact, a complete and detailed treatment of any segment of the western movement cannot be written until for each of the states or sections there has been prepared an adequate history of settlement and immigration.

Census figures furnish an approximate guide to the volume of migration. For instance, between 1860 and 1870 the following increases in population are to be noted: California from 379,994 to 560,247; Oregon from 52,465 to 90,923; Washington from 11,594 to 23,955; Nevada from 6,857 to 42,491; Colorado from 34,277 to 39,864; and Utah from 40,273 to 86,786. Among the territories newly organized during the decade Arizona showed a population of 9,658 in 1870; Idaho, 14,999; Montana, 20,595; and Wyoming, 9,118. In brief, the population of the Rocky

Mountain and Pacific Coast regions was larger by about 373,000 in 1870 than in 1860—or an increase of more than 71 per cent. It is impossible to tell how much of this increase was due to migration from eastern states, but a conservative estimate would indicate that more than 300,000 people moved overland to the far west during the ten years. From the standpoint of mere numbers the increase of this decade has been greatly overshadowed in later periods, but the significance of the movement lies in the fact that it occurred during a time of war and reconstruction and had its goal in a region still far beyond the frontier line.

Census statistics are dry and lifeless, and for the Rocky Mountain regions during the period under discussion they are notably unreliable. Fortunately we have numerous contemporaneous accounts of the western migrations of this decade which give life and color and movement to the story. Many observers along the frontier were struck by the volume of the movement to the far west while the war between the States was in progress. In these migrations were to be found adventurers from all parts of the world, draft-evaders from the North, and families from the South and the border States seeking escape from the ravages and disturbed conditions of war. In 1863, for instance, it is said that the road at Omaha was "covered most of the time with the wagons of those bound for Colorado, California and Oregon; one train of nine hundred wagons was noted, another of twelve hundred. On the Kansas route this year a traveler from Colorado, sixteen days on the road, met on an average five hundred wagons a day going to Colorado and California." The freight traffic across the plains, placed at 36,000,000 pounds in 1860, was estimated to have increased to 63,000,000 pounds by 1864.

A traveler over the route to Idaho in 1864 wrote as follows from Council Bluffs: "The immigration is said never to have been exceeded. When you approach the town the ravines and gorges are white with covered wagons at rest . . . Myriads of horses and mules, the largest and finest I ever saw, drag onward the moving mass of humanity toward the setting sun. . . . The motives which propel this living mass are, of course, various. Old Californians, who many times cursed their folly for starting, and who thought on their former return that they would never leave home again, missing the interest and terrible stimulus of a mining life, have sold our their farms and are off for a better climate. The golden dreams of all, the real success of a few, the fabulous sums made by merchandise and speculation, goad

on a mixed multitude of jobbers and traders, while the ubiquitous liquor seller, and the smooth, quiet black-leg, bring up the rear. The result is, realms are being peopled as if by magic."

Further on he wrote: "Such is the region over which two thousand six hundred wagons had preceded us to Fort Laramie, averaging four horses, mules and oxen to each. . . . It is guessed that three-fourths of this year's immigration is yet to come, and if so, the whole will foot up to a hundred and twenty-five thousand people. . . . Day after day they trudge on, with sand in their eyes, sand in their ears, sand in their neck, bosom, boots, stockings, hats, clothing, victuals, drink, bed clothes; their bed in sand."

In fact, so alarming did the rush to the far west become that the governor of at least one western state was constrained to issue a proclamation in the futile attempt to stem the tide. "I am advised by numerous letters from sources deemed reliable," declared Governor Stone of Iowa in February, 1864, "that large numbers of men qualified for military duty, are preparing to depart at an early day, beyond the Missouri. It is useless to disguise the plain object of this sudden hegira westward, in the midst of winter, and months in advance of the season at which vegetation appears on the plains. . . . Men who are capable of an undertaking so arduous, and able to delve in the golden mines of Colorado, Nevada, and Idaho would make excellent material for filling up the wasted ranks of the Union Army." Therefore he forbade any citizen of Iowa, without a proper pass, to cross the western boundary of the state before the tenth day of March, the date on which the draft was to go into effect; and he called upon all the military commanders along the Missouri to assist in enforcing this prohibition.

One writer tells us that during the war between eleven and twelve thousand immigrants who arrived at New York declared their intention of going to Utah. "Every year large companies of the Mormons came, mostly peasants from England, Scotland, and the north of Europe, and every year a large caravan set out from Utah to meet the newcomers on the frontier, and to conduct them to their destination. They moved as one large organized body, men, women, and children walking, with only the baggage in wagons."

After the close of the war the movement to the far west was greatly augmented, and was notable in the South as well as in the North, and particularly in the border States where large numbers

of southern sympathizers left their homes for the west. General Pope on the frontier wrote of the "incredible numbers" of emigrants. General Dodge declared that the trade into the Rocky Mountains was doubling each successive year, and he estimated in 1863 that fully 5,000 teams crossed the plains each month. Oberholtzer tells us that "from the first day of March to August 10, 1865, 9,386 teams and 11,885 persons in stage-coaches, in ox and mule trains, and in other parties, had passed Fort Kearney in Nebraska on the Platte route. Travellers from Denver to Fort Leavenworth . . . in Kansas, a distance of 683 miles in July, 1865, said that they were never out of sight of emigrant and freight trains. A man coming east from Denver on a stage-coach counted in three days 3384 teams bound west. The movement continued through the winter of 1865-6. The officers in command of military posts reported that their hospitals were filled with frost-bitten teamsters and emigrants, whose mules had frozen to death and whose trains, stalled on the plains, were now buried in the snow."

"It is wonderful," wrote Demas Barnes, in describing a trans-continental trip made in 1866, "to see the number of farmers with their families and household goods thus migrating to further western homes. Those we saw were principally from the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, and were either bound for Utah, Oregon, or Washington Territory. We estimated from four to five hundred wagons passed each day—one day at least a thousand. This is only *one* route."

Although there is ample evidence that thousands of settlers crossed the plains for the purpose of taking up farms in the regions further west, the main attraction during this decade was mining. The California gold fields had by no means entirely lost their lure. The discoveries in Colorado in 1858 had led to the immediate stampede of nearly 100,000 people to that region, most of whom had soon returned home disappointed. Nevertheless, during the decade of the sixties, the mines of Colorado continued to be the goal of thousands. "They literally deal in 'great expectations,' and discount the result at the first opportunity," wrote a visitor in Denver in 1866. "Just think of it—one dollar a quire for the paper I write on, ten cents apiece for eggs—at wholesale—ninety dollars for transporting sixty pounds of baggage! Of course they are in a hurry to point you to a 'blossom rock'—gold certain—a hole in the hill twelve feet deep, and consider they give you a bargain at fifty thousand dollars. Ten thousand car-

casses of poor over-worked animals, marking the highway over seven hundred miles of parching, treeless plain, is a small matter—while gold is before them, around them, everywhere.”

But new discoveries to the northwest, in the so-called Inland Empire, were now creating new excitement and attracting widespread attention. The Nez Perce and Salmon River regions in Northern Idaho; the Boise Basin and the Owyhee district to the south; the John Day and Powder rivers in eastern Oregon; and Deer Lodge, Bannack, Alder Gulch and Last Chance Gulch were the centers of the new mining activity during the Civil War. The movement to these localities caused the most conspicuous instance of an eastward moving frontier, so that a Montana poet was led to write:

“From Eastern hives is filled Pacific’s shore—
No more inviting sun-set lands are near;
The restless throngs now *backward* pour—
From East and West they meet, and stop right here.

“Away our published maps we’ll have to throw—
The books of yesterday, today are lame.
- - - - -
And towns and roads are made on every side,
In shorter time than books and maps are bound.”

Early in 1861 the movement from the coast was under way and soon the exodus of miners from California and of farmers from the Willamette Valley caused alarm. Walla Walla was full of miners on their way to Idaho. The town of Lewiston came into being as an outfitting point from which long pack trains set out for the mines. The traffic on the Columbia River grew to such proportions that new steamboats were being built. By summer it was estimated that there were more than 7000 men in northern Idaho. After a severe winter the movement continued anew and on a larger scale. In May 3800 people set out from San Francisco for the north and large numbers came also from the east, and from Colorado, Utah and Canada, swelling the population of northern Idaho to 30,000. Simultaneously miners poured into eastern Oregon. Auburn, a town which has long since disappeared, soon had a population of 3000. Baker and La Grande came into existence. In the election of 1864, the counties east of the Cascades cast 4450 out of a total of 18,350 votes cast in

Oregon. The year 1863 was marked by a notable rush to southern Idaho and to Montana. By 1864 the Boise Basin alone had a population of 16,000, and Bannack City in Montana achieved its reputation of being about the wildest town in all the mining regions.

No railroad yet bridged the distance between the Missouri and the outposts of settlement on the coast and in the mountains, but the means of travel and communication were considerably improved over the days when the first settlers journeyed to Oregon or the first stampede to California occurred. There were numerous well-beaten roads. The now familiar Oregon-California Trail, with its branches, remained the most travelled highway. Then there was the main Santa Fe Trail, with a branch along the north bank of the Arkansas to Colorado and with a connecting road from Fort Smith, Arkansas. From the latter point there was a road running southwestward to El Paso. Thence two roads led to Yuma on the Colorado River in California. From Powder Horn on the Texas coast, reached by boat from New Orleans, there was a road to El Paso. In the far north a road extended from St. Paul to Walla Walla. These are merely the main arteries of travel. There are many connecting roads, particularly in the mountain regions, leading to isolated mining camps or forming short-cuts.

During the period from 1850 to 1870 the region between the Missouri River and the Pacific Coast witnessed the development of stage lines and stage companies on a scale hitherto unknown. As early as 1850 a stage line was put into operation between Independence and Salt Lake, where connection was made with a line running with considerable irregularity to Sacramento. In 1858 John Butterfield secured the contract for carrying the mail and established a through stage line to California by the southern route. By the decade of the sixties, therefore, overland stage lines were well established. Ben Holladay was the outstanding figure in the system of transportation across the plains during this period. His own private stage-coach, handsomely decorated and comfortably equipped with beds, is said to have made the trip to California on occasion in about twelve days. The comments of the public on the service over his lines varied, however, with the experiences and dispositions of the writers.

"It is not a *pleasant*, but it is an *interesting* trip," wrote Demas Barnes. "The conditions of one man's running stages to make money, while another seeks to ride in them for pleasure, are not

in harmony to produce comfort. Coaches will be overloaded, it will rain, the dust will drive, baggage will be left to the storm, passengers will get sick . . . children will cry, nature demands sleep, passengers will get angry, the drivers will swear, the sensitive will shrink, rations will give out, potatoes become worth a gold dollar each, and not to be had at that, the water brackish, the whiskey abominable, and the dirt almost unendurable. I have just finished six days and nights of this thing; and I am free to say, until I forget a great many things now very visible to me, I shall not undertake it again."

On the other hand, travellers like A. K. McClure, Silas Seymour and General Rusling found stage-coach travelling quite endurable. "We found his stages to be our well-known Concord coaches," reported the last named writer, "and they quite surpassed our expectations, both as to comfort and to speed. They were intended for nine inside—three seats full—and as many more outside, as could be induced to get on. . . . The animals themselves were our standing wonder; no broken-down nags, or half-starved Rosinantes, like our typical stage-horses east, but, as a rule, they were fat and fiery, and would have done credit to a horseman anywhere." Silas Seymour reported that "the speed, comfort, and regularity of these Ben Holladay Overland stages is certainly astonishing, when we consider the fact that they pass through hundreds and thousands of miles of almost uninhabited country; and that it is only five years since the experiment was first attempted."

But the people of the far western settlements and mining centers demanded not only increased facilities for the carrying of passengers: they were especially desirous of improved mail service. The short-lived attempt to maintain the pony express in 1860 and 1861 was the most spectacular response to this demand. Eighty riders, five hundred horses and two hundred station-keepers were employed by the company which endeavored to make the pony express a success. "The sight of a solitary horseman galloping along the road was in itself nothing remarkable," wrote General Reynolds, "but when we remember that he was one of a series stretching across the continent, and forming a continuous chain for two thousand miles through an almost absolute wilderness, the undertaking was justly ranked among the events of the age, and the most striking triumph of American energy."

The pony express soon disappeared, leaving to the stage-lines undisputed supremacy as carriers of the mail. There is evidence,

however, that the service was often far from satisfactory. The temptation to fill the coaches with well-paying passengers and their baggage led to shameful neglect of the mail. Demas Barnes wrote from Denver that "the mail is piled up at different places and I think the bottom of it here will hardly move for a month . . . I speak only what I know, and repeat a remark made by the agents: 'Too much trouble to tear the pile out from the bottom' . . . I have seen the stages pass through here loaded with passengers, and not carry a pound of mail, while perhaps two weeks' mail, or more, lay heaped up in the office!"

There are tales of mail-bags falling from stage-coaches with no attempt to reclaim them, and even of sacks of mail used to fill up mud holes in the road so that the coaches could pass over them. "The government pays Wells, Fargo and Co. \$1,000,000 or so to carry the mails," complained McClure, "but they lose so much mail-matter that business men are glad to pay them treble postage, in addition to the government postage, to insure prompt transmission of papers and letters. . . . While Wells, Fargo and Co. are permitted to have special mails, carried at a large extra profit, they have every inducement to confuse, delay, and lose the regular mails."

A service of even more vital importance than the mail to the people of the mining regions and other isolated sections and to the garrisons of military posts was the service of supply, or the freight transportation system. During the decade of the sixties this business grew by leaps and bounds. At Atchison alone the sum of six million dollars was invested in the business, "which employed upward of 5000 men, 5000 wagons, 7000 mules and horses and 28,000 oxen. The traffic in 1865 was seven times what it had been in 1861, four times as great as in 1863. It was computed that in 1865 the shipments into Colorado had aggregated 104,000,000 pounds of goods." The firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell, holding government contracts for transporting supplies to the forts, used more than six thousand wagons, each with a carrying capacity of three tons, and is said to have owned seventy-five thousand oxen. "It is doubtful if there was another section of country on the face of the globe over which, in the sixties, passed so much traffic by ox, horse, and mule team."

The sight of these wagon trains, sometimes fully five miles in length, was a thing long remembered by every traveller. "Going up the 'River,' as the Missouri was always called, these trains being loaded all had their full complement of wagon-masters,

teamsters, cooks, etc.," writes General Rusling. "But, returning empty, several wagons were often coupled together. . . . Even here on the Plains, about the last place that we would suppose, the inherent aristocracy of human nature cropped out distinctly. The lords of the lash *par excellence* were the stage-drivers. The next most important, the horse or mule teamsters; and the lowest, the 'bull-drivers'."

To complete this survey of the expansion of means of communication and transportation which accompanied the movement of population to the far west during the sixties, it would be necessary to take note of the extension of telegraph lines and the growth of steamboat traffic on the Missouri. The limits of time, however, make it desirable to pass over these services without discussion.

When on May 10, 1869, two engines, one from the east and one from the west, met at Promontory Point on the now completed transcontinental railroad, the end of the old days in the far west was in sight. For many years to come people continued to migrate across the plains in covered wagons, mule and ox-trains continued to haul freight, and stage-coaches to carry mail and passengers. But after 1870 the old isolation was gone. A new day had dawned for the people of the mountains and Pacific Coast.

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SHOULD WE STUDY THE HISTORY OF ASIA?¹

We are just beginning to realise in America, says Mr. H. G. Wells,² "that quite a lot of things happened between Adam and the *Mayflower* that we ought to be told about . . . The United States has been like one of those men we read about in the papers, who go away from home and turn up in some distant place with their memories gone. They've forgotten what their names were, or where they lived, or what they did for a living. They've forgotten everything that matters."

If this indictment be true, the forgetfulness has been up to the present neither unnatural nor without its usefulness. For every nation, whose national quality is destined to prove of lasting value to civilization, it is necessary that there be two stages of experience. First, there must be a period of relative segregation. This is the time for the national quality to be developed by the welding together of the constituent parts. At this stage, nationalism may, as in the case of the Jews, even exhibit a kind of fierce tenacity and jealousy of its character which amounts to what we call chauvinism. It may be so conscious of the worth of what it has to guard that it regards any dilution of the national spirit by foreign contacts as a contamination of the well-springs of life. But to such a people, again as in the case of the Jew, there comes a second period when, under penalty of possible stagnation, it is necessary to put the achievements of national character out to service on behalf of mankind. After this, the centrifugal idea of political life must work in harmony with the centripetal, lest what has been gained by the earlier struggles of nationalism be wasted through selfish isolation.

We are come, the writer believes, to one of those crises of our American history in which new occasions make it necessary for us to prepare for new duties.

Somewhere on that long line which separates what is known as European Russia from the country to the east there stands a

¹ The present paper forms, in large part, the Introduction to the writer's forthcoming "*Outline History of Asia*," to be published by the Atlantic Monthly Press, in alliance with the Little, Brown Co., on April 10. It is printed here by the kind permission of the publishers of that volume.

² "*The Secrets of the Heart*," p. 155.

stone which on the one face bears the word EUROPE, and on the other face the word ASIA. In most respects the distinction to which the stone directs attention is illusory, but illusions of this kind exert a powerful influence on the course of history. The minds of historians have been wont to imprison both themselves and their subjects within national and continental boundaries which are generally quite artificial. We are very far as yet from escaping the bondage of these national, not to say Europeo-centric, views of history. A recent writer, complaining of this, declares that relatively the scope of our historical enquiry is less than that of Herodotus. The history of Greece has been studied as the story of a people who had nothing in common with the outside world except when foreign campaigns against 'barbarians' had to be undertaken and invaders repelled. The history of Rome was, of course, more 'far-flung' in its scope. Yet even here it was only because the arms of Rome had to be followed east and west in their triumph over inferior peoples. Renan represents not only the attitude of his own times but that of more than a generation since when he affirms that only three national histories have been of any particular consequence to the modern world, namely, those of Judaea, Greece and Rome.

It would be hard to overstate the degree to which this one error in the field of history has extended to other departments of study. The philosopher, for example, has concluded that, since his history begins with Greece, there too must commence the story of his own science. Text-book after text-book, each purporting to be a history of ancient philosophy, has been produced without so much as a hint that philosophy ever had a domicile beyond the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. Thus men in general came to think of history as having two faces, one turned to the west, full of meaning, movement and importance, the other turned eastward, nebulous and dreamy, and out of all possible relation to the world in which we live. Some have gone so far as to teach a doctrine of biological distinction and to quote with glib conviction one hackneyed couplet of Kipling without reference to the succeeding and complementary lines:

"But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed,
nor Birth,

When two strong men stand face to face, though they
come from the ends of the earth".

Now, of course, for this failure to perceive the unity of history in general, and in particular the importance of assigning place to the story of Asia, there are certain readily discoverable causes.

1. We must remember that the era of comparative science has but very recently begun. No large synthesis in any field was possible until a certain progress had been made with analysis. Until late years the subjects of scientific study were thought to be as easily kept in water-tight compartments as were the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. Chemistry, physics, geology, astronomy and the like were conceived of as parallel lines such as might be indefinitely prolonged without danger of meeting. The same thing was true of the languages, the national literatures, and even the religions of men. All or any of these might be studied without anyone supposing it to be necessary that the individual should be introduced to an authentic family circle. Under such circumstances, there was nothing strange in the keeping of even European histories within their national boundaries. The idea of the intrusion of Asia could only be viewed as a menace like that which Athens beheld in the armies of Darius Hystaspes.

2. The period of intercourse and intercommunication which existed as between Europe and Asia up to the 14th century, and which the dominion of the Mongol rather assisted than hindered, was somewhat rudely interrupted as the sway of the Ottoman Turk increased in power and extent. Of course this interruption did not come all at once. Nor did it ever reach the point of an absolute barrier, as some historians have described it. Nevertheless, the three great land routes by which soldiers, merchants and missionaries had hitherto passed from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia, were effectively blocked. From this time, except in the case of Russia, Asia and Europe were for the time being definitely estranged.

A new direction was given to human energy through the work of men like Prince Henry of Portugal and the great company of navigators who followed his lead. Their work was, of course, to restore the broken communications and to re-open the road to Cathay. But it was long before these efforts gave back to the knowledge of men much more than a mere fringe of the Asiatic continent, and in the meantime the voyagers on unknown seas had beheld new goals and fallen under the spell of continents before unguessed at.

3. So, for America in particular, the path of destiny was blazed westward, and Cathay ceased to be the cynosure of adventurous eyes. With the tasks which came fast and thick to hand, in the garnering of the new strange things which crowded upon the explorer, it is not surprising that the colonists of the western continent began to lose consciousness of the ancient world which lay even beyond the home of their fathers. Much even of the ancestral home sank below the horizon of memory, though for one purpose or another men still went back to Europe as Robinson Crusoe went back to his wreck. The story which Mr. John Buchan has sketched for us in "*The Path of the King*" is still strange to the average American.

In this paper the writer is not concerned with the task of describing the obligations of the United States to Europe. They are not only obvious, but they are of so concrete a character as to make it clear that no array of pedantry, however determined, will be able to diminish the interest of European history for the American student.

But, while Europe is knocking at one door, with great commonwealths growing up to self-consciousness all around the Pacific Rim, and yet so far relating themselves to one another only by a policy of fear, we have slowly begun to recognize that the European door may very well prove to be the back door of our domestic establishment, while what we have hitherto scarcely deemed a portal of access at all is rapidly assuming the dignity of a front entrance. So all Asia confronts us with a new interest and a most immediate and insistent appeal. The old Asia, shut off from the West by the inrush of the Turkish hordes, is developing a modern attitude towards the most modern characteristics of the western world, and neither world may disregard the other. A great ocean, bearing, we trust, a prophetic name, carries with its waves the influences of the West to the East and those of the East to the West. No Mrs. Partington of politics, sweeping with the broom of partisanship, may banish these influences from our respective shores.

Some consequences of the neglect of these considerations have already been exposed in a previous paper.³ Many more could be instanced, illustrating the ignorance of even Presidents and Secretaries of State, not to mention a truly formidable list of Senators and Congressmen. But, fundamentally, this dangerous ignorance

³ See *Our Asiatic Neighbors*, by Prof. Payson J. Treat, in this issue.

goes back to lack of instruction upon Asiatic problems in our schools and colleges. When two years ago a questionnaire was sent out from the University to the senior classes of the Seattle High Schools the first question asked was, How many Japanese are there in the United States? Fifty-three per cent confessed their ignorance; the other forty-sevn per cent merely exposed that ignorance, without confessing it, by giving estimates all the way from 5,000 to 20,000,000. In a further question over seventy per cent stated that they got their (mis) information from the newspapers; only thirteen per cent were indebted to books. Such results, in the light of our individual responsibility for foreign policy, seems to place squarely upon our schools and universities the obligation to inaugurate special education along the neglected lines.

In the very nature of the case, this must be no cursory or superficial survey. Only by showing how deep the roots of present-day happenings lie in the past can we appreciate the developments which have come from those roots and which constitute our immediate political problems. To the casual observer of things Asiatic it might seem sufficient to present to our students just a sketch of social and political conditions as they are at the present day. But the moment we try to lay our hands on these it is found that, as the drinking-horn of Thor communicated with the vast and universal ocean, so the existing condition of things in India, China, Japan, and so on, is vitally consequent upon all that precedes to the very beginning of the story.

Apart, moreover, from the present relation of Asia to our educational, religious, commercial and political problems, there are reasons which Americans will at once recognize to be valid for studying, at least in outline, the record of the Asiatic continent. These reasons may be condensed as follows:

1. It may well be that we have in Asia the cradle of the human race itself. Too many 'cradles' have been suggested, it is true, to incline one to be dogmatic on such a subject. But the ancient story of Eden as the abode of our first parents may not unfittingly be so modernized in the light of the discoveries of men like Raphael Pumpelly and Roy Chapman Andrews so far as to suggest the center of the Asiatic continent as the starting point of the long human pilgrimage which is history's imaginary beginning. At least this much seems certain, that somewhere on the high plains of central Asia, long before the increasing aridity of the land forced the dispersion of the more enterprising members

of the community into other climes, there was formed a civilization out of which were quarried the foundation-stones on which was to be reared the edifice of culture for the rest of the civilized world.

2. Of course, all the currents flowing from this supposed source of history may not be traced throughout their entire length, nor easily throughout any part of that length. Nevertheless, once again, it is fairly plain that, in following the course of Asiatic history from as early a point as we can reach, we find ourselves associated with strong tides of developing life which carry us far beyond the bounds of Asia, tides whose pulsations are still strongly felt in the events of our own times. We think of those strong and steady movements which gave to the valleys of the Huang Ho, the Indus, and the Euphrates the age-long civilization of China, India and the Sumerian. We recall the great sweep of wave after wave, Semite, Hittite, Scythian—this last shaking the might of Assyria towards its fall and furnishing for the Hebrew prophet the slogan, "The Day of Yahweh!" We think also of the devastating movement of the Hun which, in the east, led to the raising of the gigantic rampart of the Chinese Wall and, in the west, did so much towards bringing down the splendid edifice of Roman imperialism. We remember, again, the tremendous impact of the Mongol in the 13th. century which swept away so much of the occidental civilization of Russia. It spread so far east and west that, while Japanese mothers stilled their children with the threat, "The Mogu are coming!", economic distress affected even the shores of England through the inability of the terrorized fishermen to sell their herrings to the Scandinavian merchants. Last, but not least, we remember the westward march of the conquering Ottoman whose book of destiny is not yet to the last page inscribed.

3. On all these currents, even on those which, laden with the debris of empires, seemed barbarous and destructive, were borne those elements of culture upon which we plume ourselves today. It would be sufficient to prove our point by reminding ourselves of the fact that a mere list of the things for which the west is indebted to the civilization of one Asiatic country, China, suggests a considerable part of the history of modern culture. The present is indeed an age of stupendous advance, but, granting the utmost to the creative genius of our own time and race, we should never have run our mile but for the furlong achieved by the pioneers of the Middle Kingdom. We need only recall her silk cul-

ture, her porcelains, her knowledge of the magnetic needle, her use of paper, printing, gunpowder and tea, her genius for road-making, not to mention speculation upon abstruser themes.

To this mere hint of things for which the west is indebted to China we may add the debt of Europe and America to that large part of the population of Asia which we call Semitic. Not to anticipate what must be said of religion, the fact is not to be neglected that the Semite was the middle-man in literature and commerce as well as in religion. Palestine and the head of the Red Sea offers on the map that narrow strip of land through which passed the products of the Far East, the silks and pig-iron of China and the spices of India, on their way to the markets of Alexandria and Rome. Through almost the same corridor were carried to the western world the beast stories and other venerable fables of India in various linguistic disguises. In the vernacular of the Arab many of the romantic themes in prose and poetry, possibly even the poetic forms themselves, entered Europe soon to be acclimatized in the literatures of Spain, Provence and Italy. By the selfsame channels came likewise back to Europe treasures which she had well-nigh lost in the ages of barbarism, namely, the wisdom of Aristotle and other sages of ancient Greece.

4. One more point with reference to the past may still engage our attention, namely, the dependence of the modern world upon Asia in the matter of religion. It is not too much to say that every great religion which has claimed to be a world faith has had its cradle in Asia. Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism have all sprung from one comparatively restricted area in western Asia. India has produced Hinduism, the creed of over two hundred million souls, and Buddhism which, expelled from the country of its nativity, took on new life with new elements of belief and practice among the millions of Central Asia, China, Japan, Burmah and southeastern Asia. China, moreover, has kept its faith in Confucius, though at the same time she has permitted the philosophy of Lao-tzu to degenerate into charlatanry. Persia too has given birth to the system of Zoroaster and, since the decline of Magianism, has reached out to the west with all forms of eclecticism, from the Mithraism which attracted the reverence of the Roman soldiers to the Manichaeism whose votaries were burned in York and Orleans and was crushed in the Albigensian crusade. So on down to the Babism and Bahaim preached today in our American cities. No one, east or west, today, who takes

any interest in religion at all, can possibly dispense with the attempt to understand something of the history of Asia.

All we have said so far applies to the story of the past. With it in mind, it certainly cannot be said that Asia belongs to another world to which our own may be indifferent. It surely is not a world which let the legions of the west thunder past while she herself "plunged in thought again." If Europe at times invaded Asia, three times in succession was Europe almost conquered by the Asiatic, namely, by the Arab, the Tatar and the Turk. Nor is it sufficient to dismiss the humanity of the Orient as impersonal, when in the mind of one who reflects a moment there move across the stage of history such figures as those of Zoroaster, whose fire-temples gave new light to the east, the great First Emperor of China, who built the wall, the camel-driver of Mecca, who created an empire still a problem for Europe, or such thunderbolts of war as Jenghiz Khan, and Timurleng. If the tides of history are indeed moved by human as well as by physical forces, this is true of Asia as well as of Europe and America. No continent has ever been more prolific in the great personalities without which history loses its main significance.

What of the present?

History has sometimes been divided into three great periods. First comes the *Potamic*, or period of the river-valley civilizations, such as those of the Euphrates, the Nile, the Indus and the Huang-ho. Secondly, comes the *Thalassic*, or period of civilizations developing around an inland sea, such as the Mediterranean. Thirdly, comes the *Oceanic*. But of this Oceanic period one stage is passing away under our eyes. It is that during which the ocean regarded as its center is the Atlantic. There can be little or no doubt—and the words of foresighted statesmen not a few might here be quoted—that the course of empire which once passed westward across the Atlantic has at length reached the shores of a vaster ocean, the Pacific. Henceforth the Pacific and the countries around the Pacific, with their hinterlands and their island groups, will almost inevitably become the particular domain of Clio, the Muse of History.

The Pacific era is destined to become the era of a new America, a new China, a new Japan, a new India, and a new Australasia. In some cases the story is barely begun. In others the evidence is coming in too rapidly for most people to deduce from it the right conclusions. Already, to match the great ports

of Europe and the Atlantic seaboard, Hongkong and Shanghai have obtained a place among the "big four" of the world's emporiums. Already our civilization, along the four paths of diplomacy, education, business and religion, has come to a point where it stands on tiptoe to carry its mission to the nations of the Orient. It is beginning to be intelligently realized that the future, not merely of a locality, but of a whole nation, and not merely of a nation, but of civilization itself, internationally considered, may depend upon the alert and instructed use of the present opportunity.

Of this opportunity we dare not become mere passive spectators. The Greeks made much of an element in History to which they gave the name '*Pronoia*', or *Foresight*. It is an element which we hold to be both Divine and human. But upon the "other than ourselves", however we conceive of it, we can never unload our own immediate responsibility. The directive foresight of men by which the evolution of the race is influenced is something which may never, under any pretext, be left unexercised. It is vain to talk of evolution if we mean thereby nothing but a series of happy accidents by which things come out not altogether badly. The human mind and the human will alike are at least among the most important factors in evolution today. The political obligations of democracy amount to nothing less than our responsibility for making our wills intelligently co-operative in bringing the course of history to its proper goal.

With a foreign policy largely in the hands of constituencies whose desires are followed in the main by the politicians who represent them, it is of the utmost importance that the individual atoms of the individual constituencies should know enough of the peoples of Asia that the foreign policy of the United States may keep our ocean true to its auspicious name. With business men anxious to promote that intercourse which shall create demand for the products and manufactures of outside lands, it is of the greatest consequence that business be founded upon real appreciation, sympathy and mutual understanding. With our educationalists seeking to carry to Oriental lands the educational institutions, standards and curricula, and especially the morale, of our own schools, it is essential that they do not at the start vitiate their endeavor by ignorant depreciation of Asiatic standards and ideals which in the past have done so much in the way of subduing barbarism and extending culture. Above all, with our thousands of

missionaries, ready at the risk of comfort, health and life to bear to the Orient things which they most surely accept and prize, it is of the first moment that they have first learned enough about the old religions of the countries to which they are sent to prevent their destroying in the name of Christ the things which Christ would approve. To do this would be in the name of the Spirit of God to oppose that Spirit which has never left itself without witness in the world.

The understanding of these things will not make the study of our subject the less sincere or the less intensive. Rather, it will enable us to feel that, in order to understand aright the part, some knowledge of the whole is needed. We shall see each separate event the more clearly, and understand it the more completely, as we behold it associated with that which is at once its cause and its complement.

An historian of a past generation (Mr. E. A. Freeman), while protesting against the disposition to divide history into what is ancient and what is modern, rather curtly assumes that western history is alone of any special interest because it alone is the exemplification of the three great characteristics of law, liberty and pure religion. It is not our purpose to minimize the importance of any of these. But surely we may see that these things are not to be studied only on European or American soil or by the light of western example.

There are doubtless many questions regarding Asia which we must not too easily foreclose. We must, for example, ask whether it is altogether fair to think of Asia as a single entity. We must consider whether all the talk about an "oriental mind" is the outcome of fact or is a mere product of "occidental stupidity". We shall certainly have to consider whether there is any hard and fast distinction between East and West.

We shall have to enquire again whether the statement be true that what we call progress is a note of civilization foreign to the atmosphere of Asia, and indeed if this progress is the only element of civilization which deserves the attention of the historian.

Such questions will be treated in their due time and place. Without anticipating, it is hoped that the life of Asia and her children will be found to provide as organic and consistent a story as the life of any other region of the globe. For the present we must be content with the statement that we do not intend to stress the history of the East to depreciate the story of the West. Rather,

by reference to the East, we hope to make the history of the West more intelligible than it is to most people at the present day. For if there be any lesson which a wide survey of history teaches more plainly than almost anything else it is this, that civilization, as we know it, and as we trust it may in fuller measure become, is neither Oriental nor Occidental. Rather is it the product of human effort both east and west, the one direction correcting, complementing and stimulating the other. Startlingly true are the lines:

“Men look to the East for the dawning things, for the light of the
 rising sun,
But they look to the West, to the crimson West, for the things
 which are done, are done
So out of the East they have always come, the cradle that saw the
 birth
Of all the heart-warm hopes of man, and all the hopes of the
 earth,
And into the waiting West they go, with the dream-child of the
 East,
To find the hopes that they hoped of old are a hundred-fold in-
 creased.
For here in the East men dream the dreams of the things they
 hope to do,
And here in the West, the crimson West, the dreams of the East
 come true.”

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

University of Washington

IN NEED OF FINANCIAL HELP

Mrs. William Pitt Trimble, of Seattle, one of the most successful collectors of Northwest Americana, has secured an original letter by Captain George Vancouver, the famous explorer. She has permitted a copy of the letter to be made for this *Quarterly*.

The letter occupies a page and a half of paper, nine and a half by eight inches to the page. Evident care was bestowed on the writing as there are three explanatory interlineations. On the top and bottom margins of the first page there are entries in a different handwriting as follows: "Capt. Vancouver to Js. Sykes Esq. dra." "a Dutch East Indiaman taken by Cap. V. near St. Helena, 1795." On the bottom margin of the second there appears in the same different handwriting: "Cap. Geo. Vancouver accompanied Cap. Cook in the Resolution in 1771, on the voyage he then made round the World. Capt. Vancouver also went on a voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World—performed in the years 1790. 91. Capt. Vancouver died May 1798, at Petersham—Richmond Surry."

The letter, with spelling and faulty punctuation carefully copied, is as follows:

Petersham, Jan^y 11:1798

Dear Sykes

The receipt of yours yesterday; of the 7th. afforded me some satisfaction to find there is at length a probability of our shortly touching the cash— This was the more agreeable as the generallity of my creditors have been lately rather a little importunate and as it is my intention; not only to discharge the whole of my debts, but also such little matters as I have become answerable for others, out of the funds which the Macassar is to produce, you must not be surprised if in the course of next week or ten days my demands should be a little heavyer on you than usual, they may perhaps amount to near two hundred pounds exclusive of the stationers demand; which will place me *most completely on velvet*—excepting the incurring expenses of the publication; which will I trust at no very remote period be by itself most amply reimbursed.

I thought it was necessary to apprise you of the probability

of my making this demand upon you, as also that I this day drew upon you for forty pounds, payable to Mrs. Ruth Price or bearer.

The Tea which your good Daughters were so obliging as to procure, has turned out exceedingly good; particularly the Sou-chong, which I have liked so well as nearly to have used it all, and I think it agrees much better with me than the green, I will therefore further intrude on their goodness to send me down four pounds more of it; by the Ham & Richmond coach— I sincerely hope Mrs. Sykes is again restored to health, and with best wishes to yourself and family I remain

Dr Sir

Yours most sincerely

Geo: Vancouver

The dean of the historians' guild in America, John Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, and Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*, has complained of writers who "annotated documents to death." There is a temptation to join those meriting such wrath in this particular case.

Vancouver is justly held in great renown here in the Pacific Northwest and in other parts of the greater Pacific Rim. He discovered and named Puget Sound, Chatham Islands, and other places of importance and he explored many regions previously visited by other discoverers. A letter by him on any subject would be cherished and here is one relating to difficulties encountered while preparing for publication the first edition of his great *Voyage*. Those who know that monumental work will thrill with sympathy on reading this letter.

The parish record at Petersham (near London) shows that he was buried there on May 18, 1798. That the four last months of his life, after writing this letter, were filled with similar financial troubles may be conjectured from the fact that his brother John Vancouver wrote the dedication "To the King," in which he referred to his brother's death and adding the hope that "Your Majesty will, with the same benignity, vouchsafe to accept it from my hands, in discharge of the melancholy duty which has devolved upon me by that unfortunate event." In the "Advertisement" John Vancouver, as editor, says his brother was constantly employed from his return to England in November, 1795, until a few weeks before his death "in preparing the following journal for publication."

Mention of the *Macassar* as a probable source of funds with which to pay his debts draws attention to happenings at St. Helena in July, 1795, when the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* arrived there on the way home from the Pacific. Finding that his country was at war with Holland over South Africa, Captain Vancouver there detached the *Chatham* as a dispatch carrier in command of Lieutenant Peter Puget and he also captured the Dutch East Indiaman *Macassar*. To make sure that his prize would reach England he detailed a crew of his own men under Lieutenant James Johnstone, in whose honor he had previously named Johnstone's Strait between Vancouver Island and the mainland. His own share of prize money from the *Macassar*, Vancouver hoped, would pay all his debts, pending which the two hundred pounds from Sykes would place him *most completely on velvet* (underscored in the original), a piece of slang usually felt to be more recent than 1798.

The dignity and kinly familiar courtesy of the letter's final paragraph are self evident.

The identity of "Dear Sykes" is not difficult to fix upon although it is a great pity we cannot find more particulars about the personality of Vancouver's friend in his time of need. The added entries on the margins of the letter were probably written by Sykes himself soon after Vancouver's death. The penmanship is better than that of Vancouver. In the first marginal note he adds "Js.", for a first name which had not been written in the letter by Vancouver. After his own name he wrote "Esq' and "dra", the latter evidently for "draughtsman."

When the great work was published most of the illustrations carried the small-print line: "W. Alexander del: from a Sketch taken on the Spot by J. Sykes." Among the illustrations thus signed is the first picture ever made of Mount Rainier, to which signature is added "J. Landseer, Sculp." thus identifying the engraver as well as the artist and sketcher or draughtsman.

That these marginal notes were written between the time of Vancouver's death and the appearance of the published work seems to be evidenced by the date of Vancouver's death and the citation of the years of the great voyage as "1790.91." The matter set forth on the title-page is extensive and one line is given to the years as: "1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795." Sykes would hardly have been content to write "1790.91", if he had seen that title-page in print.

In the *National Dictionary of Biography* there are biographies of several men named Sykes, but J. Sykes is not among them nor is there evidence of his relationship with those recorded. It is sincerely hoped that future searches may produce information about the draughtsman and friend so intimately associated with Vancouver's important contribution to world knowledge.

After the above was in type another original Vancouver letter was received which makes plausible the inference that "Dear Sykes" was the father of the sketcher who accompanied the expedition round the world.

DOCUMENTS

DIARY OF WILKES IN THE NORTHWEST

[Continued from Volume XVII., Page 65]

[June, 1841.]

It proved a hard rainy day, & having little to do, I laid down leaving my chro^r. (pocket) as is my custom on the table. After a long nap I awoke with the consciousness of having slept long and jumping up to look at my chro^r. I was greatly surprised to see by it a small silver watch but what surprised me still more was that they agreed as to time, and talking to myself I said I must be mistaken when Mr. Forrest entered and said that having found my watch was wrong he had set it for me. I could not but exclaim 'good God is it possible,' and we both stood looking at each other in some astonishment & his [feelings] incensed when I told him he had changed my Greenwich time for that of Cowlitz, which latter he thought much beter I then to his great surprise & mortification told him how he had interrupted my series of observations for Meridian distances &c. &c. but he thought it passing strange—why I should prefer Greenwich to that of Cowlitz time. That he was sure his watch was right for it was exactly with the *Sun* I got a little over my [Ms. P. 102] vexation by reading a few papers in *Salmagundi* among them my Aunt Charity — and had afterwards a hearty laugh at this incident particularly after reflection. I had enough data to fix my positions that I had already observed nothing could persuade my honest host that anything could be preferable to Cowlitz time nor could I persuade him that his watch could not keep time with the *Sun*. I determined in my own mind not to leave my chronometer to any such contingencies hereafter & think this lesson may prove a salutary one at least to me.

My host was as kind as he could be gave every attention to supply all my wants and at 8 o'clock on the 21st after a nice breakfast I took leave of him to cross to Nisqually—having Plomondon,¹³⁷ his wife child 2 servants & another settler for my guides—

I was induced to avoid the mountain or hilly road & wished to pass it by the river in a canoe sending the horse around with

¹³⁷ Simon Plomondon, former employe of the Hudson's Bay Company. See note 56 above.

our loads; but the Indians were to be employed, and I at once said it would be useless to attempt a bargain, until one has fully experienced the delays & difficulty of bargaining with an Indian one has no idea of it, such perfect non chalance—time, haste, money, clothes, is nothing to them no importunities will effect any thing patience is soon worn out & our time quite lost, so after a few minutes & seeing how little they were disposed to move I rode off and passed the bad road quickly & with ease, not a little satisfied with the independence I had shown at the same time hoping it would prove some sort of lesson to them if I had Rum many would have gone days & submitted to great fatigue but any thing short of that will not move as in the Salmon & Cammass Season this is their harvest. [Ms. P. 102a] at 7 PM. we encamped in a Small Prairie—and on 22nd [June] started again at 7 o'clock after a hard ride we reached the opposite banks of the Shutes River¹³⁸ where we again encamped—As I passed over the same road returning as going I refer to my return by time—the grasses trees & flowers were every variety of bloom and the weather being much warmer made it more agreeable although I found a good fire not amiss at night.

23rd. [June]

I started early & having my servants & baggage we galloped on at a brisk rate through the beautiful park scenery as we approached Nisqually getting now & then beautiful peeps at lakes & the snow capped Mt. Rainier.—at noon I reached the Ships and was delighted to find all well & the news from the Boats & from the Porpoise of recent date and at once (having my houses erected during my absence, put up the Pendulum apparatus and began a series which lasted until the 4th July getting observations for the Longo. by more cullminating Stars & other details connected with the plotting, & surveys &c. with Latitude, Dip variations & Intensity.

25th. [June]

Sent Lt. Budd to supersede Lt. Case who was ordered to proceed to Hoods Canal to recover the lost eye piece¹³⁹ of the Telescope grave carelessness in using it. I cannot feel that the party under Lt. Case have been well employed much time lost in the *head* not being able to work so large a force.

138. Deschutes River, flowing into Puget Sound at Tumwater near the present Olympia, named by the Hudson's Bay Company men from the French word meaning falls.

139 A piece of apparatus quite essential to the explorers. A report resulting from sign-language inquiries led to a long search when the suspected Indian was found to possess only a "cologne bottle."

26. 27. 28 [June]

Employed at Experiments weather tolerably fine obtained observations for Lat. with Meridian circle also of eleven culminating Stars¹⁴⁰. Mr. Case to observe his last location darkness continues but a short time. day breaks at 2½ A.M. & darkness at 9 P.M. [Ms. P. 111]¹⁴¹ gives little opportunity for a variety of Stars. The weather is delightful.

Busily employed building an oven for the Baking of bread in order to economize our Sea Stock. The oven was formed on a stage with good plastic clay found in the neighborhood over the twigs of the hazel bushes and proved serviceable making excellent bread—the dough trough made by hollowing out a large tree that was found near by.

29th [June]

I rode with Mr. Anderson to the Nisqually Dairy the country is beautiful Park Scenery to perfection the grouping of the clumps &c. &c. all give one an idea of art, more than a natural formation one is fairly lost in viewing everything upon the large scale that is presented of lawns, clumps, lakes, woods trees of gigantic size—the scene is much varied by crossing at times fine running brooks, and coming upon lakes of some miles in extent with the deer browsing quietly near them all the back grounds made up of the bold distant outline of snowy peaks, of the Cascade range in which Mt. Rainier is ever prominent rising as it were from our very feet by a gradual slope to the height of 12,330 feet¹⁴² The interest and grandeur of this scenery never can be lost in ones memory and the lover of the picturesque would be amply repaid by a visit to this part of the country. There would be no difficulty in driving a wheeled carriage in almost any part of it.

In my ride I discovered another snowy Peak visible from this plain very much resembling that of Mt. Rainier. it appears to the Eastw^d. of the Range. Not being represented on my chart or Map I called it Mt. Hudson¹⁴³ after the Comd^r. of the Peacock. [Ms. P. 111a]

The top of Mt. St. Helens is just in sight also from this Plain. The Dairy is situated on part of this plain and has about

¹⁴⁰ Aid is acknowledged from Dean James E. Gould, University of Washington, in deciphering a number of astronomical and nautical references.

¹⁴¹ The diarist jumped to different pages in his note book increasing the difficulty of keeping the narrative consecutive.

¹⁴² A later reference to the altitude will be found more nearly correct.

¹⁴³ This name for a peak was not charted nor was it mentioned in the published *Narrative* or its index.

[blank] cows with about 100 cattle these are regularly put into Pens at nights not only for the purpose of protection from the wolves but also to save the manure They use from $\frac{1}{2}$ to an acre in extent, and are made after the Virginia fence rails of pine and are moved every week so that in the course of a year a large portion is even manured, and those parts that are defective the soil is much enriched. This Dairy yields a large supply of butter which is sent under the Contract to the Russians.¹⁴⁴ I regret to say the filth about the Dairy, Dairy maid her children & house exceeded anything I had ever witnessed in my life.

The farming operations are not large They have probably some 200 acres which was said would yield about 15 bushels to the acre. It is the Intention to put up a mill for grinding wheat & sawing lumber but this farm is chiefly intended for a grazing farm, the last supply of cattle being intended for this place were received from California about 3000 sheep & 1500 cattle & some 400 horses.

Mr. Anderson one of the Clerks of the H. B. Co. on a salary of £100 has charge of this farm under him are several persons who have charge of the diff. departments.

30th [June]

Engaged with Pendulum and also observing for Latitude—find the House answers well, temperature equable particularly at night.

Lt. Case returned after a fruitless search for the Eye Piece—got Mr. Anderson to send a War Mess^r [Ms. P. 112] to demand its being given up.

July 1st, 1841

Fair weather and beautiful nights for observing Myself and Mr. May¹⁴⁵ employed on the Fiji chart.

2nd [July]

Lt. Case & myself measuring a base line & taking the Alt^o. of Mt. Rainier the measured height was 14,850 feet¹⁴⁶ in a S. 88° 15' E. direction—1st alt 3. 09. 13.5 which gives the alt. of Mt.

2nd “ 3. 23. 11.

Rainier [blank] and distant from Nisqually [blank]

3rd [July]

Boats returned agreeably to orders to spend the 4th of July which I intended they should spend or celebrate in a suitable man-

¹⁴⁴ In what is now known as Alaska. See note 66 above.

¹⁴⁵ Passed Midshipman William May.

¹⁴⁶ The real altitude is now known to be 14,408 feet. He evidently intended to do some more calculating but left the spaces for the results blank.

ner—the 4th falling on a Sunday it was therefore kept on the 5th preparations were made for roasting an ox whole on one of the prairies whither they were to go to spend the day.

On the morning of the 4th I finished my Pendulum observation & invited all the officers present to dine with me. Sunday passed quickly each busily engaged making his preparations for the morrow balls, clubs &c. &c. The ox was killed & spitted and a party of the most adept among the crew appointed to cook him. He was spitted ingeniously on a young sapling supported on 2 Notches and revolved on the spit without difficulty. The roasting was begun on the night of the 4th.

5th [July.]

Crew were mustered on board & came on shore in their nice clean white frocks & trousers with the marines in uniform and music & after forming at the Observatory they marched off under Mr. B.¹⁴⁷ & Colv.¹⁴⁸ to the Prairie where the preparations had been making. It was truly a gratifying sight to see them all in good health not a man sick and as white as the driven snow with happy & con- [Ms. P. 112a] tented faces. on their arrival partners were chosen and the games began including horse racing &c. &c. At noon on firing the 2nd salute with the Brass Howitzer a Q. G. by the name of Whitehorn¹⁴⁹ had his arm dreadfully lacerated by the accidental discharge of the gun. The D^r. thought amputation necessary but to this I objected as it could as safely be performed in a few days as now and might [not] be necessary. he was sent off on a Barrow to the ship with his ship mates. This accident put a momentary stop to the Hilarity but as Jack is somewhat familiar to such scenes it was soon forgotten and they resumed enjoying their sports until near sunset when they again formed & returned on board with their music all in good order. Few casual observers but would have noticed the appearance of Vendovi¹⁵⁰ the Fiji Chief dressed partly in European & Fiji costumes & bringing up the rear with the Master at Arms who had the care of him. it was the 1st time he had been on shore since his capture & enjoyed himself exceedingly. These frolics and exercise tend to do the crew good and after so long a cruize I feel it great recreation to my own mind to see all those enjoying them-

147 Passed Midshipman and Acting Master Thomas A. Budd, for whom Budd Inlet (now Olympia Harbor) was named.

148 Passed Midshipman George W. Colvocoressis, whose name was often thus abbreviated as, for example, when honored by the naming of Colvos Passage west of Vashon Island. See also note 38 above.

149 Quarter Gunner Daniel Whitehorn.

150 For whom Vendovi Island was named in what is now the northwestern corner of Skagit County, Washington.

selves who have passed with me through so many dangers, and by their exertions achieved for the Country no small reputation.¹⁵¹

All the officers present dined with me Mr. Anderson Capn. McNeil & Dr. Richmond Missionary all seemed to enjoy themselves and I gave them as good chow as the Oregon territory afforded.

On the morning of the 6th Dr. McLaughlin arrived he had missed his way and he was as [Ms. P. 113] much disappointed as we were at his non arrival at dinner of the day before. I paid him all the attention in my power, took him on board the ship, manned the yards and cheered him on his leaving. he appeared to be highly gratified, with the order and condition of a Man of War. He dined with me and on the next day went back to the Cowlitz. I cannot say too much for his kindness and attention to our wants and desire of assisting us, his personal attentions to me I shall long entertain a grateful remembrance of.

6th July.

4 boats started with Lt. Carr to continue the Survey up the Sound; send off the apparatus & other Instruments.

7th & 8th [July.]

Preparing to join the surveying party with 3 Boats

on the 9th left with Lt. Budd & Pass. Mid. Eld for the falls on the *Shutes* River. Mr. Anderson accompanied me intending to visit the Bute Prairies¹⁵² for the purpose of examining them Sent the Horses round to meet us. By the stupidity of the guide (an Indian Boy) we took the wrong arm¹⁵³ and after a long and fatiguing pull to its head returned & encamped.

An early start on the 10th brought us to falls by 11 o'clock the weather had become disagreeable with rain showers We found the horses had been waiting for us all the morning. This Arm is of about 9 miles deep and the Shutes River (or more properly creek) falls with its head down a fall¹⁵⁴ of some 65 feet in height it is here about 10 feet wide and 2 feet deep it forms a basin of 50 feet diameter at its foot from which the land rises and makes a cool pleasant retreat in summer the bubbling of

151 The "no small reputation" achieved by the Wilkes Expedition has been slow in developing. The scope of the undertaking was world-wide. Its work in Northwestern America has attracted increased attention during the last few years. On July 5, 1906, the sixty-fifth anniversary of the celebration recorded here was observed with appropriate ceremonies. Governor Albert E. Mead and other representative citizens participated, also Chief Slugamus Kookilton who declared that he as a small boy attended the celebration in 1841.

152 Now known as Mound Prairie.

153 Evidently the arm afterwards named Eld Inlet after Passed Midshipman Henry Eld. Locally it is often called "Mud Bay."

154 The waterfall which suggested the name for the Descutes River. Four years later (1845) the Michael T. Simmons party settled there calling it "New Market," afterwards Tumwater, the first permanent American settlement on the shores of Puget Sound.

the cascade is agreeable. After forming our encampment & discharging the Boats I dispatched Lt. B. & Md. Eld to begin [Ms. P. 113a] the Survey, the head of this Inlet or arm is very shoal for some distance ($\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from its head & has an extensive mud flat with a channel of 20 to 30 feet in width with water enough for a boat at low water.

Mr. Anderson & myself took our horses and several of the men with shovels & pickaxes & started for the prairie which we reached about 5 o'clock having had a thorough drenching from the rain more by coming in contact with the wet bushes than the falling rain. The path is an Indian trail & everywhere overgrown with alders &c. from 12 to 15 feet high. — Pitched our tents & made fires & then chose the Butes that we desired to open 3 of which were dug into. They are composed of alluvial soil apparently by the soil being brought together, and are remarkably rich of a mel-low black mould. Their dimensions are generally 15 feet in diameter, and six feet above the gravelly soil — about one might be placed between every four thus [drawing]¹⁵⁵ the whole prairie is covered with them almost all perfect in their form, the subsoil is a hard reddish gravel. The hole was dug directly in the centre about 4 feet in diameter and continued until the subsoil was reached on which we found in all a pavement laid of paving stones such as on streets. No kind of articles, bones or anything was found in them — This is the case in many parts of the country, the Indians have no tradition respecting them whatever.¹⁵⁶ On the many inquiries made I could get no surmises even respecting them. In their absence will attempt a suggestion myself. They are not tumuli¹⁵⁷ nor are they held in any regard by the Indians. I did [Ms. P. 114] learn however that the Medicine men were in the habit of gathering some herbs from them, and it may be the continuance of a practice that has been handed down to them to do. They seem fit places for the growth of various herbs & might have been the custom for each tribe or family to cut its own — it is well known that to this day the medicine men have the full power to bring such a custom into use, and still may practice it without being aware of its being traditional. Some have suggested their being formed by the water but I view this as impossible. They

155 A symmetrical group of five mounds which drawing is reproduced in the published *Narrative*, Volume IV., page 415.

156 In 1905 the present editor obtained from Old Seseenah on the Chehalis Reservation an Indian legend explaining in a mystical way the aboriginal idea of the origin of those mounds. Geologists offer eighteen theories, the most satisfying of which relates to glacial drift as the probable origin of the mounds. See also note 76 above.

157 Meaning burial mounds.

lie in a flat Prairie and are thousand in number with great regularity in their rows liking them to familiar object to everyone I would say they are prodigious *corn hills* with quite their regularity, and from the great numbers of them must have been an herculean labour — Having finished our examination, I determined to return to my party at the falls, and accordingly parted with my friend Mr. A. who intended to return to Nisqually. It was my intention of getting some angles on Mt. Rainier from this position but the weather only enabled me to get my Lat^d. & Long^o. — the Horizon being obscured with clouds & my time was too precious to wait a day for the opportunity — never had a more disagreeable & wet ride and was heartily glad to get before a large camp fire, with my party around me, few can imagine the pleasure that one experiences on hard service the hour or two one gets after the labours of the day before a good large fire tending to restore one to cheerfulness and overcome the days fatigues.

12th. [July.]

Started at 7 o'clock with the boats, some hurry scurry many not being prepared when the hour came, but punctuality is everything in this service, did a good days work notwithstanding we had some rain. At Sunset joined Lt. Case Party when I took charge of all [Ms. P. 114a] Boats, pitched tents and took observations for Latitude & Long^o. (time)

13th. July.

Off at 7 o'clock precisely all the boats in company some for triangulating others for sounding Started with a general measurement of bases—sent Mr. Totten¹⁵⁸ to connect with work of Lt. Carr through a passage, and on his rejoining me, despatched Lt. Budd & Mr. D.¹⁵⁹ up over Inlet—& proceeded on with Lt. Case Mr. Eld & others up the main arm — We made Camp at Sunset after a heavy days work — Lt. B. did not return at sunset as he ought to have done in consequence his & Mr. Totten's services were lost the next day I gave him in consequence a reprimand pointing out to him the error he had fallen into of which he seemed well aware. Sent Mr. Hamersly¹⁶⁰ to the ship with Limont¹⁶¹ who had been burnt with powder.

¹⁵⁸ Midshipman George M. Totten for whom Totten Inlet (locally known as "Oyster Bay") was named.

¹⁵⁹ Joseph Drayton, artist, for whom Drayton Harbor, inner portion of Semiahoo Bay, and Drayton Passage, west of Anderson Island, were named.

¹⁶⁰ Midshipman George W. Hammersly, so spelled in the official muster-roll, though variously changed in the diary, charts and published *Narrative*. Hammersley Inlet, the southwestern arm of Puget Sound was named in his honor, but local usage calls the inlet "Big Skookum."

¹⁶¹ Joseph Limont, seaman.

14th. [July.]

At 7 o'clock we were again in our boats in consequence of Mr. Totten having the rough draft we could not bring up the work last Evg — this ought always to be done —

Lt. Case & myself triangulating with Mr. Eld¹⁶² & Williamson¹⁶³ sounding — reached the head of the Bay at 3 o'clock at foot of the 3 Butes (western) (seen from Nisqually observatory) at which time I was joined by Lt. Budd & Totten. Went down the Branch & encamped at the mouth of another preparatory to its survey on the morrow —

15th. [July]

Started an hour earlier this morning in hopes of reaching the Ship by tomorrow evg. reached the extreme limits of the arm by 11 o'clock left Mr. Totten to get the Meridian alt°. & sights for chronometer. Sent Lt. Budd to put up signal [Ms. P. 115] and survey the 1st Inlet we encamped in when I proceeded to join him with the other boats. We had not advanced far before it became time to encamp —

16th. [July.]

Off at 7 o'clock. Mr. Hammersly joined [illegible] me yesterday morning finished the survey of the arm & proceeded towards the ship bringing the survey down to him and reached at sunset, in consequence of Mr. Totten not obeying orders despatched him to Mr. Eld with a fresh boats crew at 9 o'clock P.M. & to execute those left with that officer for him besides giving him a good reprimand for his proceeding detaining the work from progressing, and causing fatigue and exposure to his men, think he will not be apt to do it again & hope it may serve to impress with the necessity of obeying strictly their orders.

Found all well on board & ready for Sea Mr. Johnson's party¹⁶⁴ having returned all well — The Cadborough H. B. Co. sch.—Scarborough¹⁶⁵ master arrived today — from Frazers River.

These arms of Puget Sound bear very much the same character The soil is light on a subsoil of sand stone & gravel The banks in some places about 100 feet covered with spruce, pines, oaks, alders & arbutus great quantities of seringas in full blossom

162 Passed Midshipman Henry Eld.

163 John G. Williamson, gunner.

164 Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson's party which had crossed the Cascade Range to explore what is now eastern Washington. In this diary, Commander Wilkes shows that Lieutenant Johnson misbehaved soon after his return to the ships. This did not deter Wilkes from giving an enthusiastic account of the work done on the journey over the mountains. See *Narrative* Volume IV., pages 418-474.

165 Captain James Scarborough whose name was afterwards given to what is now known as Neah Bay. The schooner's name was *Cadboro*.

reminded us of home, and although not partial to its smell heretofore it was found by us all delicious it savoured of civilisation. [Ms. P. 115a]

Nisqually. as a scite for trade is badly located and I should also think even so for the purposes of the Company. indeed they intend to remove it and have in fact selected another scite about a mile distant back near a stream from which all their waters for this establishment has to be brought —

The anchorage is small & the toil of taking things up the hill great although they have comparatively a good road for that purpose. My observatory occupied the brow of this hill & by leveling I found it to be 190 feet above $\frac{1}{2}$ tide and the bob of my Pendulum clock 174 feet 3 inches above the same.

Tide rises 18 feet spring tides and about 12. ordinary or neap tides H. Water full & change 6.10 P.M. During all the time of our stay at Nisqually there was found to be a great discrepancy between the night and days tide the former not being so high by 2 feet. This was also the case in the Columbia.

Much better places than Nisqually could be found for the location of town or for the purposes of trade just below it between it & Kitron's Island¹⁶⁶ the shores make a small indentation & this small harbour although the water is deep is well sheltered by Kitron's Island from all those which blow with any violence. The S.E., S.W. & N.W. and would be free from any sea, the way might be made quite easy to the summit of the hill here more sloping than further up. There are several fine runs of water near here.

The Farm of the Company extends back towards [Ms. P. 116] the plain on which their Dairy is situated.

The country is thought to be remarkably healthy around these Salt Water Inlets, which afford abundance of fine fish &c. &c. The winter is represented to be mild snow seldom falling and of but short duration.

The Mean temperature as found by our experiments at the observatory was 58°.5 Farh^t. and that at Astoria was but 54.

4.5 in favor of the more northern station — they were both underground about the same time and full 6 feet below the surface. One however was in June & July

¹⁶⁶ The chart accompanying the monograph on *Hydrography* by the Expedition shows the spelling Ketron. The original honor was for William Kittson of the Hudson's Bay Company service. The incorrect spelling by Wilkes persists on present day maps.

& the other in August and Sept^r. These Experiments would lead one to doubt the accuracy of the mode of testing the fact as respects the Mean annual temperature.

The Latitude of Nisqually by many circummeridian observations of [symbol for sun] & stars was found to be 47. 07. 12 N.¹⁶⁷ Longitude by eleven culminating Stars. [blank] & [blank] Variation [blank] Dip [blank] Intensity [blank.]

The mean temperature during the month was [blank]

the greatest range of ther. [blank]

the minimum [blank]

Barometer [blank]

The Indians around Nisqually are few in numbers & a lazy vicious set and exceedingly dirty. They for the most part sleep all day & sit up all night gambling with visitors or among them and in this way like all the tribes of this coast they will after parting with all their useful articles dispose of their wife & children & finally of themselves to years of Slavery.

Their clothing seldom consists of more than a blanket or coat made of one and a pair of leather breeches & moccasins. little or no distinction seems to exist among them. [Ms. P. 116a] The chiefs have little or no authority Everyone seems left to take care of himself.

They are addicted to Stealing and will run some risk to effect their object several blankets were reported to have been stolen from the men while asleep although one was on guard at the observatory with loaded arms but a few paces from the spot — They are not inclined to work — & their general food consists of fish, particularly the clams &c. &c. which are obtained here in great abundance, deer & wild fowl in their seasons. They carry on a good deal of bartering for the Cammas root with those who are more in the Interior. but all these Indians may be termed Nomadic for they seldom occupy the same spot over a few months together but change their residence in order to approximate the places where they are supplied with food.

This renders it very difficult to obtain a correct knowledge of their numbers & persons visiting the different parts of the country at different periods of the year would be inclined to over estimate its population.

¹⁶⁷ The diarist occasionally writes marginal phrases to catch his eye. On this occasion he wrote "Leo sets," which information would have value in the astronomical work he was doing.

The Nisqually tribe are few and harmless & diseases are rapidly thinning them off.

Mr. Anderson informed me he had or was making an experiment with some of them to till the land but he found them disinclined to work altho they were more apt than he had given them credit for.

Under Mr. Anderson's care all the vegetables, fruits &c. thrive well. The soil is light & shingly generally but in places it well adapted to all the wants of the Settlers. Neat cattle, hogs, sheep, &c. thrive uncommonly well. [Ms. P. 103]¹⁶⁸

17th July.

I returned yesterday from a surveying excursion with the boats and agreeably to orders found everything ready for sailing. embarked the remainder of the Instruments &c. &c. and prepared for departure. A 2 P.M. the wind sprang up from the westward hove up the anchor and made sail. Lt. Johnstone had been prepared with Pas^d. Mid. Eld to cross over to the Chikeles River for the purpose of proceeding down it, to its mouth in Gray's Harbour, and making a survey of it, and the Coast as far as the Columbia River including Shoalwater Bay. on the receipt of his written orders, he came to me to expostulate on them in apparent temper. I refused to have anything to say to him. This was on the Quarter Deck whilst heaving up. I told him not to come and speak to me in that mood & told him to go below, and think over what he was about, and to be ready to leave the ship in 5 minutes, that I was anxious to save the tide, & wished him to take his departure immediately, in about 10 minutes he came to me again, & I would not listen to him. He was dressed as I considered very unofficerlike, having on one of the caps, or hat worn by the Indians, and showed marked disrespect in his manner, & dress to the rules of the ship & navy. On his going below in 5 minutes I ordered Lt. Carr 1st Lt. to send a message for Lt. J. to leave the ship immediately finding the time had expired. I again sent Mr. Colvocoressis to tell Mr. J. that he must positively leave the Ship in five minutes and after the expiration of this time Lt. J. came on deck, came to me in some temper & in this dress before described with my written [Ms. P. 103a] orders in his hand, and on my telling him he must positively leave the ship under those orders, he said he would not obey the orders or words to that effect, and thereupon I took the orders from his hand, he

¹⁶⁸ The manuscript again turns back in page numbers.

at the time said he wished to keep them, but this I refused and immediately suspended him from duty — I then called Mr. Howison¹⁶⁹ & told him to substitute the name of Pas^d. Mid. Eld in lieu of Lt. Johnstone and ordered Pas^d. Mid. Colvocoressis to join Mr. Eld whereupon they immediately left the ship & I filled away bidding adieu to our kind friends Mr. Anderson & Capⁿ. McNeil, and thanking them for their kindness, and hospitality to myself and officers during our stay at the Place (Nisqually) (for remarks concerning it see the foregoing pages). We had a light wind, which enabled us to get through the Narrows before dark and at dark I anchored off the Sth. End of Vashons Island in 27 fathoms water, about one cable length from the shore. Weather fine.

18th [July]

Underweigh at 8 A.M. when the tide served with a light breeze from the westw^d. employed beating down the Strait anchored at 1 P.M. the tide coming in strong, got underweigh again at 6 P.M. & continued beating & drifting down until midnight when I again dropped near its junction with Admiralty Inlet.

19th [July]

Underweigh at 9 A.M. beating down & continued undeweigh until about 2½ A.M. when it falling calm I again anchored off Apple Cove in 25 fathoms water. [Ms. P. 104]

20th July.

Again underweigh continuing down at 9 A.M. towards sunset it fell calm and I was obliged to anchor off a sand spit in 10 fathoms. water exposed to all the violence of the tide in about ½ hour we began to drag with 35 fathoms veered to 80 & although it was not [illegible] during the night yet I found we must have dragged afterwards.

21st July

Discovered the Sch^r. Cadboro. Capt. Scarborough to N^d of us, he having passed us at night got underweigh at 5 A.M. with a high breeze from the S^d. & Ed. At 8 made the Brig & Launch out to the N^d. ran out of Admiralty Inlet & stood to the westward for New Dunginess Harbour where we anchored in 11 fath^s. about 2 P.M. having passed over an extensive shore extending from Protection Island to the N^d. least water had 4½ fathoms. Brig joined company, at 3 P.M. despatched Lt. Case with 3 Boats to bring up the survey of Whitbey's Island¹⁷⁰ & that of Port

169. James R. Howison, captain's clerk.

170 Named for Joseph Whidbey of the Vancouver expedition, 1792. His name was frequently misspelled.

Townsend also to correct that of Hoods Canal with work of Porpoise. Sent the Boats to take stations, also put up Signals, also ordered the Brig on Shore off Protection Isld. & find for Base &c. &c. Lt. Comdr. Ringgold came on board with his chart & report.¹⁷¹ The launch had reached him with no accident except the wetting of 70 lbs of bread.

22nd July

23rd

Ordered Lt. Johnstone & Mr. Waldron to rejoin the P.¹⁷² & my officers to Ship except Lt. Alden employed the boats on survey of Dunginess Harbour & myself making observations on the Points for Lat°. & Long°. Dip, Intensity &c. &c. &c. fine weather & pleasant breezes. [Ms. P. 104a]

24th July

Again employed part of the day trying the dip & intensity belonging to Porpoise in the afternoon surveying, 6 Boats employed surveying; preparing orders for Brig. At night Boats returned from Townshend harbour having completed the survey up to that place & joined the work of Brig & Boats (Hoods canal Survey with that of Whidbeys Island).

25th [July]

Brig parted company for the further prosecution of duties.

Started this afternoon at 4 o'clock with 7 Boats 4 days provisions for the survey of the Labarynth of Islands through which the Canal de Arro¹⁷³ passes, rough time crossing the straits, heavy sea and all got a wetting such as I have not had for many a day—Boats behaved well & we soon got dry & comfortable over large fires at our Encampment in one of the branches of the Labarynth

26th [July]

Began the Survey at 7 o'clock A.M. we continued hard at work until dark when we had reached the Main Channel all exerted themselves well today & we made great work of it.

27th [July]

Continued our survey off at 7 o'clock and another hard days work in order to join the Brig signals to the north in which we succeeded & in consequence of not finding water were obliged to

171 The Brig *Porpoise* had been on a survey from May 15, 1841. See entry of that date and note 43. A brief record of the extensive surveys, evidently from the report here mentioned, appears in the *Narrative*, Volume IV., pages 478-483 and also in the Atlas accompanying the Expedition's volume on *Hydrography*. Many geographical names still in use are there charted for the first time.

172 The Brig *Propoise*.

173 The Spaniard Quimper in 1790 named it Canal de Lopez de Harro after his sailing master. Vancouver changed it in 1792 to Canal de Arro. The British Captain Henry Kellett in 1847 charted it as Haro Strait which name has continued.

return to our old encampment of last night which we did not reach until near [Ms. P. 105] 10 o'clock having a strong wind & head tide to pull against — This day I was joined by Pasd. Mid. May from the Ship with despatches informing of the loss of the Peacock on the North Spit of Columbia River Bar, all hands saved — this news though bad was a relief to me as I had long been under apprehension of her wreck on some unknown shoal & had made up my mind as soon as I could to go in search of her, it appears she had been at Oahu why and wherefore remains to be seen. I can scarcely believe it, but presume Cap^{tn}. Hudson must have some very urgent reason to have thus departed from my orders and her delay in reaching the River is now accounted for and if he should have departed from his Instructions without due reason he has met the fate of all those who run counter to written Instructions. The only reason assigned for his going there by the letters received is a supply of provisions and water this he had full knowledge had been provided for at the Columbia or would be prior to his leaving Oahu in Dec^{er}. last and with the knowledge he ought to have possessed of the winds [illegible] was much nearer to him than Oahu could be. I however reserve myself from an expression until I shall have his communications on the subject. It is one satisfaction however to know that both are at last come to light notwithstanding the disaster met with by the Peacock.

28th [July]

Started at 7½ on our duties & by 3 P.M. finished the survey of Canal de Arro and reached the ships at sunset The boats all followed in about an hour — found all well — Despatched P. Mid. Sandford to intercept the Brig & countermanded all orders in consequence of the news received — [Ms. P. 105a]

29th July

Blowing all day half a gale of wind from the Westward sent 3 Boats under Lt. Budd to complete the survey of an Inlet which he succeeded in doing by sunset — Mr. Totten went to New Dungeness Pt. to get sights for [illegible] Lt. Case & myself plotting the work of survey of Canal de Arro.

A thick fog bank to the West & N.W. all day this is a sure sign of wind from that Quarter. sent down our Topgallant & Royal Yards and moved to 80 fathoms.

Despatched a messenger to the Townsend H. to the Brig.

This morning the Brig hove in sight from Port Townshend

& came to anchor at 11 o'clock received from her a supply of Bread 200 lbs and a bbl of flour part of that supplied her a week since — preparing to get underweigh strong gale from the westward with thick fog which continued through the day —¹⁷⁴ countermanded the Brig orders & retained her with me.

31st [July]

More moderate employed securing the boats hove in to 30 fathoms waited for the tide until 1.30 when I got underweigh with a moderate westerly breeze and made nothing for the 1st 24 hours when we took the ebb & made some progress, fine moon light & fresh breeze from W by N to W by S — pleasant weather. [Ms. P. 106]

August 1841

1st August

This day we have light winds inclining to calms making little progress down the Straits of Juan de Fuca, the Porpoise in company In order not to lose sight of our operations I got 2 bases with Porpoise and mustered drafters to ascertain positions &c. &c. on both sides of the Straits They are as far as we have examined free from dangers the tides are [illegible] and generally during the summer months winds light altho there are days of exception to this on which the winds blow heavy from the N.W. We lately whilst lying in New Dungeness experienced three days in which it blew very strong. We have fine weather and moon light which makes it safer to navigate here than it otherwise would be so hemmed in on all sides by the land. I had no muster today giving the men a day of rest of which their late arduous duties rendered necessary and it has been apparently much enjoyed by them.

¹⁷⁴ On the margin Captain Wilkes wrote: "Despatched Mr. T. W. Waldron to the Columbia by way of Nisqually and the Cowlitz with despatches for Capt. Hudson, 4 days he will arrive there [illegible] from 31st."

BOOK REVIEWS

Archaeological Investigations in the Aleutian Islands. By WALDEMAR JOCHELSON. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 367, 1925. Pp. ix and 145.)

There is no doubt in the mind of any modern anthropologist that the history of the American race begins with the migration of the ancestral Indians from Asia. But the precise time and route, their racial type and culture are still uncertain. Indirect and inferential evidence establishes a slow infiltration of small groups by the Aleutian chain, by Bering Strait, or over the ice about the time of the last great glaciation at the close of the Pleistocene period. These were of fairly homogenous racial character and with a culture comparable to that of late Palaeolithic or early Neolithic of the Old World. Dr. Jochelson set out to search the Aleutians for evidence of this early migration.

No traces of it were found. This is important, for it eliminates the Aleutian chain as a route, and in view of the thoroughness of his investigation, it is not likely that this verdict will be upset. In place of this we have the story of the California shell mounds repeated: All the remains resemble those of the historic Aleut with some slight development in the upper strata of the mounds. These heaps are deep, as much as 6.5 meters, evidencing a considerable antiquity for the culture. Dr. Jochelson does not attempt to estimate its age.

LESLIE SPIER.

Autobiography of John Ball. Compiled by his daughters KATE BALL POWERS FLORA BALL HOPKINS and LUCY BALL. (Grand Rapids, Mich: The Dean-Hicks Company, 1925. Pp. 231. \$3.00.)

Heralded through Michigan as a pioneer from 1836 until his death in 1884, John Ball's autobiography might not be deemed of much importance to Oregon history by casual readers or collectors. The error of such a conclusion would be instantly discovered by a glance at the contents where "Book the Second" is en-

titled: "Across the Plains to Oregon and the Return Home by Cape Horn, 1832-1835."

Ahead of the Missionaries!

Yes, it is the same John Ball who came to the Oregon Country with Nathaniel J. Wyeth, the same John Ball who gathered the children together at Fort Vancouver and on January 1, 1833, began the first school in the Pacific Northwest.

Speaking of that school of half-breed boys Mr. Ball says: "Well, I found the boys docile and attentive and making good progress, for they are precocious and generally better boys than men. And the old doctor [McLoughlin] used to come in to see the school and seemed much pleased and well satisfied. And one time he said, 'Ball, anyway you will have the reputation of teaching the first Academy in Oregon'. And so I passed the winter."

Eleven valuable chapters tell about crossing the plains, the experiences in Oregon and the return voyage by way of San Francisco, Hawaii, Society Islands, Cape Horn and Rio de Janeiro. Westerners will delight in the possession of those chapters.

New Englanders will enjoy the pictures of his home life in the opening chapters. He was born in New Hampshire, November 11, 1794. Michigan people will prize "Book the Third" and all readers will enjoy the concluding chapters about the Civil War and about travels in America and in Europe.

The three daughters have certainly made of this book an enduring monument to the memory of their father's ninety eventful years of life.

Collectors will find an effective way of securing the book by corresponding with Miss Lucy Ball. R.R. 1, Grandville, Michigan.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

We Must March.* By HONORE WILLIS MORROW. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925. Pp. 427. \$2.00.)

The author has previously contributed several works of very acceptable fiction. She has now attempted to write fiction against a historical background and with less success. Aside from the fact that the story deals with the friendly struggle between the United States and Great Britain during 1826-46 over title to the Oregon Country there would be no occasion for mention in this

* This book, *We Must March*, was reviewed in the January number of this *Quarterly*, page 72. Space is gladly made for this second review because it is written by Mr. T. C. Elliott, who, for many years has lived in Walla Walla, near the scenes of the Whitman labors and the Whitman massacre.

historical journal. The book will certainly not be listed by Miss Griffin in the 1924-25 editions of *Writings in American History*.

There appears at the beginning a very considerable bibliography of historical titles; and the text portrays the actions and words of men and women well known in Oregon history who had more or less to do with the migrations to Oregon from the East. This bibliography has misled the critic for the *International Book Review* (see January number), and no doubt will mislead others who base their historical knowledge upon casual reading only. The story follows a theory of Oregon history which has been exploded by the best historical writers, but that fact has not disturbed the author at all; she seems to have welcomed it.

The inside covers exhibit a map of the Oregon Country and the track of the traders across it from Canada. The map is palpably wrong. The text portrays customs of travel and contact with the Indians by those traders which are either untrue or highly exaggerated; also organized opposition to, or diversion of, immigration which has no foundation in fact. Prominent men among the American emigrants are caused to utter suspicions and antagonism quite impossible of them. This retwisting of the British lion's tail does not find a sympathetic historical audience now; and the making up of love scenes between Mrs. Narcissa Whitman and Governor George Simpson verges upon the repulsive in its suggestion that Mrs. Whitman was not one hundred per cent loyal to her husband. Putting of words and sentiments into the mouths and minds of actual historical personages is a difficult task at the best, and this author has allowed herself too much license in that regard.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

"Uncle Dan" Drumheller Tells Thrills of Western Trails in 1854.

By DANIEL MONTGOMERY DRUMHELLER. (Spokane: Inland-American Printing Company, 1925. Pp. 131.)

At 81 years of age this fine type of the real pioneer wrote some of his recollections which appeared as a series in the *Spokesman-Review*. These were collected by the family and published in a beautifully printed and bound volume which will undoubtedly prove a lasting memorial to a picturesque character and successful citizen of the Pacific Northwest.

The "Foreword" declares: "From Cariboo to Hermosillo, and from Bitter Creek, near the summit of the Rockies, on west to the

Golden Gate, there is hardly a cattle trail or a country town but 'Uncle Dan' Drumheller knew it intimately. Coming overland from Missouri to California in 1854, he spent his long life on the Pacific Coast. As a rider for the old pony express in the days before the civil war, and later as a miner, packer, cattleman, rancher, banker, farmer and investor, he has ransacked this country from one end to the other."

The compilers declare that Mr. Drumheller wrote from memory and they express the belief that "the errors that may have crept in are of the most trifling sort."

The Reminiscences of Henry Windler. Edited by J. Orin Oliphant. (Cheney, Washington: Privately published, 1926. Pp. 20.)

Mr. Oliphant has here produced a beautiful booklet containing the recollections of an Eastern Washington pioneer—Henry Wendler—now in his ninetieth year, who has been a frontiersman all his days. He arrived in San Francisco in 1859 and moved from there to Nevada City. He returned to Ohio and then arrived at Spokane in 1886, remaining for the last forty years in Eastern Washington. The narrative is a simple straightforward story of experiences.

Bering's Voyages, An Account of the Efforts of the Russians to Determine the Relation of Asia and America. By F. A. GOLDER. (New York: American Geographic Society, 1922-1925. Two volumes. Pp. 371 and 290.)

A sympathetic review of Volume I. was published in this *Quarterly*, Volume XIV., Number 3 (July, 1923), pages 236-237. At that time it was announced that the American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, was launching under the editorship of W. L. G. Joerg, a "Research Series" and the second volume would appear late in 1923. For some reason two years of delay has been encountered.

The first volume comprised the log books and official reports of the first and second Bering Expeditions during the period from 1725 to 1742. This second volume, completing the work, is concerned largely with George Wilhelm Steller's Journal of the sea voyage from Kamchatka to America and return, 1741-1742, the second Bering Expedition. The Journal is translated and in part annotated by Leonhard Stejneger, of the Smithsonian Institution.

Professor Golder, formerly of the Washington State College

and now of Stanford University, is one of America's accepted authorities on Russian history. For years he was one of the contributing editors of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

In his preface the author tells of his searches for the materials and makes grateful acknowledgment of assistance received from scientists and other scholars throughout the world. He also compiled a valuable "Biographical Note on Steller" and a very helpful bibliography.

The thirty-two illustrations include some facsimiles of the records and rare maps.

The American Geographic Society has earned an enviable reputation for devotion to a high grade of scholarly effort. That reputation ought to be enhanced by the quality of this pair of books. Adherence to the primal sources makes them definitive as to the important events covered. The Pacific Rim is rapidly gaining attention in the realm of scholarship as well as in commerce. Searchers in this comparatively new but charming field should not ignore or neglect this careful work by Professor Golder.

The Mountaineer. Edited by THE EDITORIAL BOARD. (Seattle: The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1925. Pp. 90. Seventy-five cents.)

Mazama. Edited by MERLE W. MANLY. (Portland: The Mazamas, 1925. Pp. 140. \$1.00.)

The two principal mountaineering clubs of the Northwest are The Mountaineers having most of its members in the State of Washington and the Mazamas centering in Oregon. Each club publishes a small monthly magazine largely in the nature of bulletins of events. At the end of each year there appear these annuals, beautifully illustrated, carefully edited and placing emphasis upon the region of the year's big outing.

Chimney Rock and Mount Stuart, a portion of the Cascade Range new to The Mountaineers as an organization, fill the most prominent space in *The Mountaineer*, while Mount Jefferson fares as well in *Mazama*.

.. Each publication gives attention to the conquest of Mount Logan, one of Alaska's greatest peaks and the annual "Greeting" in *The Mountaineer* is by Captain Albert H. MacCarthy, intrepid leader of the Mount Logan Expedition.

The Mountaineer also contains "The Circuit of South America," by Rodney L. Glisan; "From the Mackenzie to the Yukon,"

by Laurie R. Frazeur; and "A Glimpse of the Hawaiian Isles from the Air," by Le Roy Jeffers.

Mazama has valuable articles on Oregon geology and geography as well as a tender eulogy by William Gladstone Steele on one of the club's most prized members—Prince Lucien Campbell, President of the University of Oregon, who died on August 14, 1925.

Each publication has the usual reports of the year's activities valuable to the members and, in the aggregate, constituting a commendable record of good work, more durable than the members now realize.

A Pioneer Search for an Ideal Home. By PHOEBE GOODELL JUDSON. (Bellingham, Washington: Union Printing, Binding and Stationery Company, 1925. Pp. 314. \$2.00.)

The title-page announces that the book was published in the author's ninety-fifth year and that she had crossed the plains in 1853, becoming a resident of the Puget Sound country before the organization of Washington Territory.

She was one of the founders of Lynden and chose the name of the settlement. The people of Whatcom County justly held her in high esteem. During the last half century "Mother" and latterly "Grandma" Judson was loved as one of the established features of that part of the commonwealth.

The book, without table of contents or index, is a running account of pioneer experiences through the days of Indians, of forests and of the real first settlers.

A legion of friends march through the pages, some of them singing verses and all of them leaving a record to be cherished by all who love the annals of the pioneers.

The book constitutes another fine monument to one of the loved builders of Washington.

William Allen, a Study in Western Democracy. By REGINALD CHARLES MCGRANE. (Columbus: The Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1925. Pp. 279.)

Unless he knew his William Allen thoroughly, no collector of Oregon literature would do more than glance at this book. It would be an error of judgment and his negligence would be culpable.

Chapter V. is entitled: "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight", and that chapter reveals United States Senator William Allen of Ohio

fighting eloquently and forcefully for the retention of all of the Old Oregon Country. When the compromise boundary along the 49th parallel was accepted in the Treaty of 1846 he was so angry that he resigned the Chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and tried to induce the other members of the Committee—Cass, Archer, Sevier and Atherton—to resign at the same time. They refused.

Allen's speeches at that heated time are quoted and from this time forward he must be recognized more fully as one of Oregon's advocates during the fateful forties.

The Missouri Compromise and Presidential Politics, 1820-1825.

Edited by EVERETT SOMERVILLE BROWN. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1926. Pp. 155.)

All western readers are interested in the Missouri Compromises. Here is a well documented treatise based on letters of William Plumer, Junior, Representative from New Hampshire during the stirring years involved.

This book gives promise of a valuable series whose publication is made possible by a fund donated by Willam Keeney Bixby, President of the Missouri Historical Society. Professor Thomas Maitland Marshall, well known in California, Idaho, Colorado and elsewhere in the west, is Secretary of the Missouri Historical Society and editor of its series of publications.

Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott. By WILMON BREWER. (Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, 1925. Pp. 508. \$3.00.)

Though wholly outside the field of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, mention is here made of the receipt of this book on account of its excellence as to form and content. When Scott's Waverly novels were first appearing a century ago reviewers noted his debt to Shakespeare. Dr. Brewer has produced the first extensive study to show Shakespeare's influence on Scott's life work. Future students of either author should not ignore this painstaking work of Dr. Brewer.

The North American Indian. By EDWARD CURTIS. Edited by FREDERICK WEBB HODGE. (Los Angeles: Edward S. Curtis, 1924. Volume XIII. Pp. 316. \$3500 for completed set of twenty volumes and twenty portfolios.)

Readers of former issues of this *Quarterly* are aware of the monumental character of this work on *The North American Indian* by Edward S. Curtis, formerly of Seattle, now of Los Angeles. Notices of appreciation were published in Volumes III. and IV. and in Volume VI. (July, 1915) an extensive review was published of Volume and Portfolio X. in which notice was also given of Volumes and Portfolios XI. and XII. One more big step has now been taken toward the ultimate goal of Volume XX.

The ground covered in this present volume includes the northern counties of California, the arid plains of Nevada and northward to the Klamath Lake region of Oregon. The tribes studied include the Hupa, Yurok, Karok, Wiyot, Tolowa, Tututni, Shasta, Achomawi and Klamath.

The first half of the book is devoted to the study of each of those tribes. Then follows a collection of stories or legends under the title of "Mythology." The last story is "Why There Are No Fish in Crater Lake." The appendix includes tribal summaries, vocabularies and an index.

Like its predecessors the book is a wonderful specimen of the book-making art. There are seventy-five illustrations, gems of the matchless Curtis skill. The accompanying portfolio contains thirty-six larger reproductions of similar artistic photographs made in the field.

The Oregon Trail. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With an Introduction, Notes and Questions by Russell A. Sharp, A.M. (Boston: Houghton, 1925. Pp. 349. \$0.80.)

The present edition of Parkman's classic is issued as a text for school reading. It is well printed and bound and is issued with a map but no other illustration. This new edition calls attention once more to the sustained popularity of *The Oregon Trail*.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Journal, Volume 24.* (New York: The Society, 1925. Pp. 368.)

BALDWIN, FRANCES ELIZABETH. *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926. Pp. 282.)

DUFOUR, PERRET. *The Swiss Settlement of Switzerland County,*

- Indiana*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1925. Pp. 446.)
- FOX, SISTER COLUMBIA. *The Life of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David*. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1925. Pp. 240.)
- HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. *Publications*, 1925. (Cincinnati: The Caxton Press, 1925. Pp. 58.)
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PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Archives of British Columbia

Students who are familiar with the scholarly series of *Memoirs* of the Archives Department of British Columbia will be glad to learn that additional volumes are now under way. Mr. John Forsyth, Provincial Archivist, writes under date of March 10: "We have two *Memoirs* in the press just now and expect these will be issued within the next two months or so. *Memoir* No. VI is on the early history of the Fraser River Mines, edited by Judge Howay, and the other deals with the Assay Office and the establishment of the Mint at New Westminster, prepared by R. L. Reid, K. C. of Vancouver." The earlier numbers of the series have been noted in this magazine. The last issue, *Memoir* No. V, was reviewed in the *Quarterly* for April, 1923.

Local Imprints

Those who are responsible for the preservation of historical materials need hardly be reminded of the importance of collecting local imprints. Librarians have a special duty in this matter because of the almost invariable tendency of individuals to throw away local material in preference to that which originates elsewhere. On the death of an old resident, an examination of the reading matter left behind usually reveals the fact that books of a general nature and magazines such as *The Century*, *Harper's* and *Atlantic* have been preserved to the exclusion of the local items which might become of priceless value to the historian.

"The Little Cabin in the Prairie"

One such item recently noted is a twelvemo pamphlet in blue wrappers issued in Salem, Oregon, by Sumter Craig in 1878. This little pamphlet of twenty-one pages was written by A. F. Davidson and bears the title: "*The Little Cabin in the Prairie: A Story of Woman's Love.*" It has been saved by the Oregon Historical Society altho nothing in the story has any direct bearing on Oregon. Doubtless it was printed to sell for ten cents or to give away with subscriptions to the *Willamette Farmer* which was at that time being published in Salem by Clarke and Craig.

Rare Edition of Suckley and Cooper

The Library Association of Portland has recently obtained a rare edition of Suckley and Cooper's *Natural History of Washington Territory and Oregon* . . . published in 1859. George Suckley, M.D., and J. G. Cooper, M.D., were scientists attached to the Pacific Railroad Exploration under the direction of Isaac I. Stevens. The results of their observations were published by the Government in 1860 as Volume XII, Part II, of the *Pacific Railroad Explorations* (U. S. Congress, 36-1, House Executive Document 56). It was also issued the same year by Ballière Brothers of New York. The Checklist of *Pacific Northwest Americana*, No. 3890, locates three copies of this latter edition in the libraries of the Pacific Northwest.

Interest in the 1859 edition, also published by Ballière Brothers, centers in the fact that it antedates by one year the publication of the official government report. It is the only copy reported by any library in the Pacific Northwest.

Collation by Miss Rockwood of Portland shows considerable variation in the two Ballière editions. The edition of 1859 contains a "Comparison of the Climate of Nebraska with similar regions of Europe", 26 pages, not in the 1860 edition. It contains but 55 plates as compared with 58 of the later printing but has a map not to be found in the edition of 1860. Both of these editions contain plates not to be found in the government report.

Notes on Early Libraries Requested

At the Conference of the Pacific Northwest Library Association to be held in June a series of papers will be given on the beginnings of libraries in the Pacific Northwest. Students who have in their possession information, documents, or citations to sources not likely to be generally available will perform a service to the cause of history by sending an account of the same to the President of the Association, Mr. M. H. Douglass, Librarian of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

Auction Records

During the present auction season, the offerings of Western Americana have not been large. The most important sale to date has been that of the American Art Association on March 9, including books and autographs from the library of the late Judge Rush R. Sloane of Sandusky, Ohio. At this sale a few items of

extreme rarity were sold together with a considerable number of the more ordinary books of Western interest. The following list indicates the range of prices:

Corney, <i>Voyages in the Northern Pacific</i> (Checklist 810) ..	\$ 4.50
Gass, <i>Lewis and Clarke's Journal</i> (Checklist 1375)	6.00
Fisher, <i>Account of the Voyages and Travels of Captains</i> <i>Lewis and Clark</i> . Baltimore, 1813. (Not in Checklist).	8.00
Wyeth, <i>Oregon; or, A Short History of a Long Journey</i> (Checklist 4478)	385.00
Tucker, <i>A History of Oregon</i> (Checklist 4029)	380.00
Lee and Frost, <i>Ten Years in Oregon</i> (Checklist 2146)	15.00
Robertson, <i>Oregon, Our Right and Title</i> (Checklist 3329).	230.00
Allen, <i>Ten Years in Oregon</i> (Checklist 48)	12.00
Hines, <i>Oregon, its History, Condition and Prospects</i> (Checklist 1703;) Bulfinch, <i>Oregon and Eldorado</i> (Checklist 538); Leighton, <i>Life at Puget Sound</i> (Checklist 2151). The lot of three volumes	4.00
Beeson, <i>A Plea for the Indians</i> (Checklist 309)	8.00
Ambler, <i>Life and Diary of John Floyd</i> (Checklist 59; Steel, <i>Mountains of Oregon</i> (Checklist 3829); Strahorn, <i>To the Rockies and Beyond</i> (Checklist 3871). The lot of three volumes	11.00
Coyner, <i>The Lost Trappers</i> (Checklist 835)	12.00

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Death of Judge Hanford

Judge Cornelius Holgate Hanford died on February 28, 1926. The end of his long, useful and rather dramatic life came in Honolulu, Hawaii, while he was visiting at the home of his son, Major E. C. Hanford.

The life was long in the ordinary measurement of years. He was born in the Town of Winchester, Van Buren County, Iowa, on April 21, 1849. From early boyhood his days were exceptional ones and his life was longer in work than in years.

It was a useful life in that he helped others of his family, he made of himself a good lawyer and served his city, county, state and nation. He was the last Chief Justice of the Territory of Washington and the first United States District Judge for the State of Washington. Statistics were published showing that for years he was the hardest working Federal Judge in the United States. Yet he found time to join with others in the advocacy of good roads. Survivors of the "Old Guard" assembled to honor his memory at the funeral in Seattle on March 12. He took an active interest in efforts to reclaim lands by irrigation, one big project and an adjacent town being named in his honor. During that same congested period he found time to write a number of historical pamphlets which in later life grew into valuable books of history. He was one of the first Trustees of the Washington University State Historical Society, publishing the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, and continued as such Trustee until his death.

Many phases of his life were so unusual that they justify the adjective dramatic. In early boyhood he had not a robust body, he stammered badly and was otherwise unattractive. Old timers are now a little shame-faced as they confess that young Hanford was laughed at and jeered by the other boys of that day.

But he knew how to work.

He overcame the stammering and he studied. At twelve he found himself in San Francisco still studying. There from 1861 to 1867 he had the advantage of a course in a commercial college. Aside from that course he was self-educated. To get the books and the education he worked on farms, in the Puget Sound forest and carried mail on horseback from Seattle to Puyallup. In the

same way he continued his studies in the field of law, made of himself a successful lawyer, evolving into a great judge. The climax of that educational drama was reached when Whitman College crowned him with its highest honor—the Doctor of Laws degree.

Always intensely patriotic, he was one of those who faced the mob with a musket to maintain law and order at the time of the anti-Chinese riots in 1886.

Another dramatic climax was reached in 1914, during a rather partisan Congressional investigation, when he resigned the position of United States District Judge. His old time associates were justly proud of the eminence he had attained. They grieved over what they deemed unfair treatment. As an evidence of their esteem they elected him President of the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington for the year 1924-1925.

He will be remembered for his judicial decisions, for his historical writings, for his patriotic citizenship and for his remarkable struggle as a backward boy up to one of the highest positions in the difficult profession of the law.

Skamania County Historical Society

Preliminary meetings are being held at Stevenson for the purpose of organizing a Skamania County Historical Society. Much enthusiasm has already developed and plans are under way to reconstruct the famous blockhouse forts used there during the Indian wars of 1855-1857. In addition there are many other phases to be studied of early Columbia River history going back to the first explorations by the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1805-1906.

Telephone Anniversaries

On March 10, throughout the United States, there were held celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Alexander Graham Bell's first message: "Watson, come here, I want you," on his completed telephone.

Celebrations were also held in a number of Washington cities commemorating the first installations of their telephone systems. Notable among these was Bellingham celebrating the date of January 15, 1890, and Seattle that of March 7, 1883. The ceremonies take different form but they all tend to show the progress and history involved in the rapid development of this remarkable invention.

American Historical Association Endowment

At the fortieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, December 29-31, 1926, renewed effort was placed upon the national desire to raise among the members an endowment fund of half a million dollars. Former United States Senator Albert J. Beveridge accepted the chairmanship of the general Committee on Endowment. Professor Evarts B. Greene, who had served during the previous year, asked to be relieved from the chairmanship but he remains on the committee. The main object of securing the endowment is to enable the Association to "assume a new and much needed leadership in the promotion of research and publication."

World War Shrines

The State of Washington has decided to add a monument in the name of the State to the line of the allied fronts at the time of the Armistice. The bill for that purpose was introduced by Representative Mrs. Harry John Miller on November 16; passed the House of Representatives on December 2; passed the Senate on December 18; and became law by the Governor's signature on December 24, 1925.

The line is about 750 miles long extending from the North Sea to the border of Switzerland. It is planned to erect 240 of these monuments at the crossings of as many roads. Ground for each monument is being donated in perpetuity by Belgium and France. The monuments are similar save for the separate inscriptions and cost about 3500 francs or approximately \$200 each. The work is in charge of a national organization.

Thus far 120 of the monuments have been dedicated coming mostly from European contributors. It is hoped that the United States will erect at least sixty of these shrines and become credited with marking one-fourth of the entire line.

Work to that end has begun. It is not heralded or advertised. Up to date it has had its impulse largely in the devotion of one man—Professor C. A. Guerard, formerly of the University of Washington Faculty now Secretary of the French Consulate, 905 Securities Building, Seattle. David Whitcomb, President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, wrote: "Each allied nation has a national shrine where homage may be rendered to the Allied dead but should not we Americans have our State shrines too . . . testifying to our undying gratitude and reverence for the men of our

respective Commonwealths who made possible in the words of President Harding—'a new and lasting era.'" From these and similar initiatives in the Northwest the six first American monuments were sponsored by the following: 1—The Minute Women of the State of Washington; 2—The Mayor of Minneapolis; 3—Stanford University; 4—The "Poilus" of San Francisco; 5—Lafayette Lodge of Masons of Seattle; 6—The George Washington Foundation of Seattle. The National Guard of the State of New York subscribed for the seventh and the State of Washington has now sponsored the eighth one for America.

This announcement may inspire an initiative in other States. If it proves difficult to establish contact with the authorities in France or Belgium it is suggested that correspondence be opened with Professor Guerard whose address is given above.

Phi Beta Kappa Endowment

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has accepted leadership of a national committee to secure an endowment of \$1,000,000 for Phi Beta Kappa of which the income is to be used for the promotion of scholarship in American high schools, colleges and universities. The accomplishment of this undertaking will constitute a magnificent celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this scholarly society founded in 1776.

Cowlitz Historical Society

The historical branch of the Cowlitz Pioneer and Historical Society, which branch contains members other than pioneers, met in the last week of February at the home of Mrs. C. H. Olson, of Kelso, and chose the following officers: President, T. H. Davis, of Longview; Vice-President, Mrs. C. H. Olson, of Kelso; Secretary-Historian, Mrs. Clara Burdick, of Kelso; additional Directors, Mrs. Hite Imus, of Kalama, and Dr. C. J. Hoffman, of Woodland.

Visiting Professors of History

The history staff of the University of Washington, during the Summer Quarter of 1926 will be strengthened by a group of visiting members as follows: Professor R. B. Mowat, Oxford, England; Professor Walter N. Sage, University of British Columbia; Professor William W. Sweet, De Pauw University; Professor Frank A. Williams, Phillips College; Associate Professor F. Lee Bennis, Indiana State University. The Summer Quarter begins on June 15th and ends on August 27th.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE COLUMBIA RIVER HISTORICAL EXPEDITION

The scenic and climatic advantages of our Northwest, as well as its rich and abundant resources, have been acclaimed to the ends of the earth and have made the region justly famous. Intensive application to pursuits of fortune in this new land, however, seems up to the present almost to have precluded giving much attention to another feature that promises to furnish an important additional impetus to tourist travel and to the cultural development of the various communities themselves. This is the arousing of a general interest in the historic background of the territory from the Mississippi to the mouth of the Columbia and Puget Sound. It has been called the public's awakening to an historical consciousness.

That this whole region was the scene of many stirring events of pioneer days and earlier, when it was beyond the frontier, is beginning to be realized, as it has not been realized previously except by the more or less limited number of students of the subject. Events of far reaching importance have become half forgotten in the daily rush and grind of current business. But the time seems to have come when the Northwest is beginning to take pride in her historical heritage and is showing it by placing memorial tablets and monuments to mark places and commemorate events and to honor the memory of heroes of the formative period of the country.

A great stimulus to this movement is the plan for a group of historians, writers, and others interested in the subject to travel from Chicago to the mouth of the Columbia River in July of this year. The party will be accompanied by a group of students who are winners of oratorical contests in the high schools of various cities throughout the country on "The French Pioneers in America." The Governors and Historical Societies of the states of Montana, North Dakota, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon are sponsoring the trip, which will be known as The Columbia River Historical Expedition.

The avowed purpose is to visit historic places, hold memor-

ial celebrations, and dedicate appropriate monuments in honor of distinguished pathfinders and pioneers of the Northwest.

Last year a similar expedition, which was known as The Upper Missouri Historical Expedition, made a trip into the states of North Dakota and Montana, skirting the Mouse, the upper Missouri and the Maria's River and ascended the headwaters of the latter stream to the crest of the continent at Maria's Pass, where the official activities of the journey terminated. Lewis and Clark, La Verendrye, David Thompson, and Governor Isaac I. Stevens especially were honored.

This year's expedition will occupy twelve days, and in carrying out the program planned, the party will follow an historic trail along the Mississippi, the Red River of the North, the Mouse, the Missouri, the Kootenai, the Pend d'Oreille, and the Columbia; rivers whose waters bore the slender bark canoes and cumbersome keel boats of the earliest explorers, pathfinders, and fur traders and on whose shores still may be seen the sites of the old fur trading posts and missions.

To transport the members of this Expedition, the Great Northern Railway will run a special train known as the Columbia River Special.

After an overnight run via the Burlington Route, the party will arrive in St. Paul and Minneapolis on the morning of July 16, where short trips will be made to the principal points of historic interest in the Twin Cities.

From the original head of navigation of the Mississippi at St. Paul across to the valley of the Red River of the North and down that valley to Grand Forks, the trip will be devoted to visualizing the early means of transportation in the Northwest, particularly the period of the Red River ox carts. These picturesque, high, two-wheeled carts constructed entirely of wood, even the various parts being held together by wooden pins, were drawn by a single ox and for many years were the only means of transporting heavy goods between the Red River settlements and the Mississippi.

For practically the entire distance from St. Paul to Grand Forks the Columbia River Special will parallel the route of these ancient vehicles. At the University of North Dakota there will be an ox cart parade, after which the party will attend a banquet and listen to talks given by Dr. Solon J. Buck, Dr. C. N. Bell, and Dr. O. G. Libby, authorities on the history of this region.

During the night of the sixteenth the Expedition will move

westward over the rolling plains of North Dakota, arriving at Fort Union, on the boundary between North Dakota and Montana, early the following morning. A tall flag pole just south of the tracks and overlooking the Missouri River stands in the exact place where the original flag pole of historic Fort Union once stood.

To honor the almost forgotten members of the fur trade, there will be held here a colorful pageant depicting the country as it was a hundred years ago. Indian tribes, whose ancestors once traded at this post, will dominate the program. Indian chiefs, braves, squaws and papooses—dressed in their gay finery of beaded buckskin and feathered head-dresses—will dance to the measured beat of the tom-tom; Assiniboine will talk to Hidatsa and Sioux will talk to Blackfoot by means of the sign language; and many tribes will compete in old time games, notably the hand game and the wheel game.

On Sunday, July 18, two stops will be made; the first at Fort Benton and the second not far beyond at the Great Falls of the Missouri. Both of these are places notable in the history of the Northwest. Fort Benton was one of the latter day fur trading posts which saw the changing of the West from the great primeval wilderness of the fur trade to the vigilante days of the mining era, then to the days of the Indian wars, and finally to the present day of the railway, the farmer, and the cattle raiser. The flourishing city of Great Falls overlooks the famous falls of the Missouri, discovered June 13, 1805, by Lewis and Clark while on their memorable journey up the Missouri and over the top of the continent to the wave washed shores of the Pacific.

Arriving at Bonners Ferry on the morning of the nineteenth, short speeches will be made by T. C. Elliott and J. B. Tyrrell, and a monument will be dedicated to commemorate the first route of trade and travel across what is now the State of Idaho. This route down the beautiful canyon of the Kootenai and on into the valleys of the Pend d'Oreille and Spokane will be followed by the Columbia River Special, and here the members will be reminded of two other periods of travel: First, the Indian, either on foot or on horseback, his tepee and few household goods lashed on a crude travois or carried by a patient squaw; and later the brigades of the fur traders carrying tomahawks, knives, beads, blankets, and other trade goods westward, or bearing eastward the peltries of the trapper and hunter bound for Montreal and eventually the busy fur marts of London, Paris, and Leipsic.

At the end of this journey and along the age-old trail across

the mountains is Spokane, the Expedition's first stop in the State of Washington. Here the party will be taken by automobile to the top of Mount Spokane where, high above a widespread panorama of bountiful orchards and waving grain fields, once the country of the fur trader and Indian missionary, Mr. N. W. Durham will talk and a picnic supper will be served.

The next day, Tuesday, July 20, will be spent following the surging waters of the Columbia, the great River of the West; searched for in vain by Verendrye and his sons, by the Spaniards and the English mariners; discovered by an American sea captain, Robert Gray, in 1792; afterwards explored for a great part of its length by another group of Americans, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and for its entire length by David Thompson in 1811; and finally opened to trade by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company.

The last three parties mentioned and the many others who traveled this historic trail to the Pacific all stopped at the ancient Indian village of Wishram to barter with these aboriginal traders and to portage their canoes around the falls. To honor these many pioneers the Columbia River Historical Expedition will make a stop at the present town of Wishram, which is located just above Celilo Falls at the upper end of The Dalles, to attend dedicatory ceremonies at which addresses will be made by Judge Charles H. Carey and Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, and a monument, composed of rock taken from the majestic palisades of basalt, which line the Columbia for many miles, will be unveiled.

In the afternoon an automobile trip will be made over the Columbia River Highway to Multnomah Falls and back to Portland where the members will again board the train and proceed to Seaside, Oregon.

The route of Lewis and Clark will be followed at many places throughout the journey, first for some distance along the Missouri at and west of Williston, North Dakota, again at Fort Benton and Great Falls, a third time at Meriwether, Montana, a fourth time along the Columbia, and on Wednesday their route will be visited again, this time at Seaside where they built their camp for the manufacture of a supply of salt for use on their return journey. This will occupy the morning hours and the remainder of the day will be spent enjoying the sports and pastimes of the Pacific beaches.

Thursday morning at Astoria, Oregon, Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison and Judge F. W. Howay will be the speakers at the dedica-

tion of the Astoria Column. This monument, which stands in John Jacob Astor Park, has been made possible through the generosity of Vincent Astor, Esq., the great grandson of John Jacob Astor. It is a slightly tapering column one hundred and twenty-five feet high and rising, as it does, from the highest point in Astor Park, its majestic outlines will be visible to vessels many miles out in the Pacific. Its general style is suggestive of two famous European monuments; one erected by the Roman Emperor Trajan in 114 A.D. to commemorate his campaigns, and the other by Napoleon in Paris one hundred and twenty years ago in honor of his victories. But instead of perpetuating the acts of vain-glorious emperors, the exterior of this column will be decorated with a long, spiraling frieze upon which has been carved a succession of scenes and figures telling of the discovery of the Columbia, the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and the adventures of the Astorians.

Washington's youngest city, Longview, will be host to the Expedition on Thursday afternoon, and here, after listening to Professor Edmond S. Meany speak, a new highway bridge, suitably decorated, will be dedicated in memory of the early fur traders and pioneers of that part of the Columbia valley.

The next day will be spent in a return visit to Spokane, Washington, where two important events will take place. The first is the dedication of a monument that is now being erected by the Washington State Historical Society to commemorate the Battle of Spokane Plains, and the second will be an Indian Congress at Spokane, where the many tribes who dwell west of the Rockies will congregate.

The next two days will be spent in a sight-seeing tour of Glacier National Park and the final two days on the return journey to Chicago.

DONALD MACRAE.

HISTORY OF PIG IRON MANUFACTURE ON THE PACIFIC COAST

The discovery of gold in California and the consequent immigration and growth of population along the Pacific Coast created not only an interest in other mineral resources but also a demand for manufactured products of the metals. It was natural, therefore, for the early settlers to turn attention to the possibilities of developing iron deposits into producers of ore to supply potential blast furnaces, and to look at the forests and the coal beds as sources of fuel for metallurgical operations. Cast iron, rolled iron, and steel products were in great demand for all the needs of a new country engaged in the development of mines and farms, in the exploitation of the timber and fisheries resources, in building railroads, and in creating shipping activities along both rims of the Pacific. A strong belief in the extent and magnitude of the deposits of raw materials, necessity created by local conditions, the isolation of the western coast from the producing iron and steel centers of the east, and an optimism of creative development—all contributed to the desire and the determination to establish an iron manufacturing industry on the western slope facing the Pacific Ocean.

It must not be inferred that other localities in the line of the western drift of population were inactive. The occurrence of excellent deposits of iron ore in Utah was noted by the first settlers. They soon recognized the necessity and importance of iron production, but the sporadic attempts made to organize an industry failed because of difficulties in securing suitable coke near the iron deposits, and because the principal occupation of the pioneers was directed to agricultural pursuits. The opposition of the Mormon church authorities to industrial activity was also a factor in hindering such development. Utah, however, became a producer of pig iron in 1874. The Great Western Iron Works had built a plant of two small stacks about 1873 at Iron City in Iron County and manufactured 415 tons of iron from 1874 to 1876. This establishment was abandoned in 1883, and the old stacks torn down. However, foundations are reported to have been laid for a coke furnace, 45 feet by 15 feet, to use the local hematite and magnetite ores, but the later project was never carried to completion. The

Equitable Iron and Coal Company of Ogden began the construction of the Laura May furnace at Ogden in Weber County in 1875. This was not completed until 1882 and does not appear to have produced more than 57 tons. The records indicate that Utah produced 472 tons of pig iron in the following years:

1874	200
1875	150
1876	65
1882	57

Manufacture then ceased, and Utah passed out of the list of states producing pig iron until 1924, when a modern blast furnace establishment and by-product coking plant, utilizing the rich resources of iron ore, coal, and limestone, were put into operation near Provo by the Columbia Steel Corporation.

The history of the attempts to manufacture pig iron in California, Oregon, and Washington is given in the pages which follow. Rolling mills had been established as early as 1868 in California and somewhat later in Oregon and Washington, but the story of their development is a separate chapter in the industrial development of the coast and will receive only incidental mention in this narrative. The material for this article was collected during an investigation, made in 1924 and 1925, of the possibilities of establishing a blast furnace industry on Puget Sound. As a part of the study, it was found desirable to secure information regarding previous attempts made along these lines in the Coast states. Interest in the matter was stimulated by the discovery of many facts not generally known, consequently an effort was made to bring together these scattered facts dealing with the early history of pig iron manufacture on the Pacific Coast into a continuous whole. The sources of information are difficult to find, are fragmentary, and contradictory; the available data, recorded largely by non-technical writers, lack the accuracy demanded by the scientific investigator. Because of this, many points of metallurgical and engineering importance are vague and ambiguous; on the other hand, these technical matters are not of great significance to the casual investigator. An attempt has been made here to present the story, as it has been traced out of the various records and sources open to the writer, in the hope that it may be of some interest to the general reader as well as an historical record of the difficulties and problems faced in the former attempts made to

establish this basic industry on the western coast of the United States.

The significant fact to note is that California, Oregon, and Washington did actually produce pig iron over a period of years. The total quantity manufactured during the various cycles of activity is not large. Only incomplete statistics are available, consequently the estimates presented indicate approximations. Oregon produced nearly 95,000 net tons during the period from 1874 to 1894; Washington 25,000 tons in the early years from 1881 to 1889; and California 15,000 tons in the short life of operation from 1881 to 1886. The total reported production to 1894 amounts to 132,845 net tons of charcoal iron;—probably 135,000 tons is a safe round-figure estimate. The production at Irondale, Washington, during the intermittent operations from 1902-1903, 1907-1910, and 1917-1919 was 41,000 tons. The grand total for the Pacific Coast during all the years is estimated to be approximately 175,000 net tons;—not a large amount measured in terms of the modern furnace,—but it is an index of the results actually attained through the earnest efforts of the hopeful adventurers of past days.

Notwithstanding the commercial failure of the early enterprises, the hope still persists of a rebirth of the pig iron industry at some time in the near future. The hope is based on the expectation that changed economic conditions will allow the assembling of raw materials at one or more strategic points along the Pacific and permit the production of pig iron and its direct products on a profitable basis. This is not altogether an idle dream, because some day the industrial necessities of the Coast will justify the erection of local blast furnaces to satisfy the established, existing market as well as to meet future growth. When the time arrives, the development will proceed cautiously along well proven channels, and it will be conducted in a systematic, scientific and technical procedure based on a full comprehension of all the possibilities and limitations of our resources and our markets. Then will the dreams and ambitions of the pioneers be converted into realities.

Oregon

Oregon has the distinction of being the first state on the Pacific Coast to manufacture pig iron in the blast furnace. Interest in the possibility of utilizing iron ores was shown as early as 1841. Wilkes refers to the plans of Major Robert Moore, then living on the west bank of the Willamette overlooking the falls, to erect furnaces for smelting iron. Moore believed that the nearby rock was

iron ore,—an error pointed out to him by Commodore Wilkes, but like many a prospector, Moore did not believe that he was mistaken. Oddly enough, the first iron made, an iron pick and some horseshoe nails, was smelted in a primitive way in 1862 from ore obtained at a deposit farther down the river at Oswego on the west bank a few miles above the city of Portland. As a result, plans were made to exploit this deposit. The Oregon Iron Company, promoted chiefly by W. S. Ladd, H. C. Leonard, and H. D. Green, was organized in February, 1865, with a capital of \$500,000 to manufacture pig iron in Oregon. The stock was distributed among twenty stockholders, among whom were San Francisco and New York men as well as Oregonians. On May 13, 1865, the following directors were chosen:—W. S. Ladd, H. C. Leonard, Henry Failing, Addison M. Starr, John Green, and Henry D. Green, the first two acting as president and vice-president. In 1866 the construction of a furnace to utilize the limonite ore at Oswego was begun. This furnace, modelled after the Barnum stack at Lime Rock, Connecticut, was completed under the direction of a Mr. G. D. Wilbur of Connecticut, but did not begin actual operations until August 24, 1867, when 6 tons of metal were made.

The stack, constructed of hewn stone obtained in the immediate neighborhood, was 42 feet high, 34 feet square at the base, 26 feet square at the top, and had a hearth diameter of 9 feet 6 inches,—the entire structure supported on solid, dry stone foundations 16 feet deep to bed rock and 36 feet square. Surmounting the stack was a brick chimney 40 feet high containing chambers for heating the air used for blast. This was furnished by two wooden blowing engines, driven by water power, having cylinders 5 feet in diameter and a stroke of 6 feet. The capacity of this furnace was very small, only about 8 tons per day. The cost of the plant was \$126,000.

Charcoal for fuel was made from Oregon fir, and limestone for flux was principally obtained from the San Juan islands in Washington. Stone from Santa Cruz, California, was also used. Some attempts were made to use local calcareous material in place of limestone, but without success. Limonite of low grade from deposits near the furnace furnished the supply of ore,—2½ tons being required for each ton of pig iron produced.

By the first of October, 1867, the production had reached 224 long tons costing \$29.00 per ton, exclusive of taxes and interest on

capital. The pig iron, consumed locally and in San Francisco and sold at a price varying between \$25.00 and \$30.00 per ton, was pronounced to be of superior quality. No exact record of the tonnage produced in the years immediately following the beginning of operations is available. It has been stated that between 1867 and 1869 the plant produced 2400 tons of pig iron.

The works were closed in 1869 because of difficulties due to the construction of the furnace, which limited the output to a relatively small amount of iron, and the plant remained idle until March, 1874. During the three following years over 5000 tons of pig iron were made, but the results of operation do not appear to have been satisfactory, for the plant was sold at sheriff's sale in September 1877 to the Oswego Iron Company under whose management it was thought production could be increased. The new owners rebuilt the furnace, began operation in 1878 and continued until 1882, apparently without making the progress expected. The low price of iron also contributed to the difficulties of the new management. On April 22, 1882, the Oregon Iron and Steel Company was incorporated to take over the business. This company was organized by W. S. Ladd, W. M. Ladd, and E. W. Crichton, with a capital of \$3,000,000. The officers in 1884 were S. G. Reed, president, William S. Ladd, vice president, E. W. Crichton, secretary and superintendent. Production of iron was resumed and kept up until November, 1885, when the operations were again stopped because of the low price of iron. The difficulties in which the company found itself were adjusted in 1887. Reorganization with a paid up capital of \$1,500,000 took place; the old plant was discarded, and a new one constructed in 1888. This was blown in and put into operation in October. Mr. W. S. Ladd became president, Martin Winch, vice president, and J. Frank Watson, secretary.

The new blast furnace of 50 tons daily capacity was 60 feet high, bosh diameter 13 feet, had 6 tuyeres, and water cooled bosh. It was equipped with three Whitwell hot blast stoves 15 feet by 75 feet; a Weimer blowing engine of 800 horsepower furnished blast. Boilers and stoves were fired with waste gas from the furnace. The complete plant represented the latest development in furnace design. Fuel, as before, was charcoal, made in 36 beehive kilns, 30 feet in diameter and 13 feet high, located near the plant. A new mine $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away was opened to supply local ore, and in addition some magnetite ore from Redonda Island, British Col-

umbia, was later imported for use as a mixture with the limonite. A Davis-Colby kiln was used for calcining and roasting part of the ore. In addition to producing pig iron, the company manufactured cast iron pipe in a foundry having a capacity of 25 tons per day.

This plant received its first charge on October 17, 1888, and produced pig iron until 1894, the banner year being 1890, when 12,305 tons were made. Production then declined. In 1894 the operation was suspended and virtually abandoned, thus closing the record of Oregon's activity as a producer. The total output from 1867 to 1894 was 93,404 net tons, equivalent to 83,400 gross tons of pig iron.

The record of production, so far as can be determined from available sources, is as follows:

1867)	
1868)	2,400 net tons
1869)	
1874	2,500
1875	1,000
1876	1,750
1877	— —
1878	1,310
1879	2,500
1880	5,000
1881	6,100
1882	6,750
1883	7,000
1884	3,640
1885	3,832
1886	— —
1887	— —
1888	2,509
1889	9,426
1890	12,305
1891	10,411
1892	8,543
1893	5,308
1894	1,120

93,404 net tons
or 83,400 long tons

During the period of industrial activity following the declaration of war attention was directed to the possibility of reviving the former blast furnace operations at Oswego, at well as at Irondale, Washington. The Oswego furnace was acquired by the Pacific Coast Steel Company on June 22, 1917, but nothing was done to place the plant on an operating basis, probably because of the high cost of assembling the necessary raw materials for pig iron production. Only part of the former installation now remains, and, except for its historical interest, the furnace has no practical value.

A rolling mill for the production of bar, band, and hoop iron was put into operation in September 1892 by the Portland Rolling Mills at Portland. It later passed into the hands of the Pacific Hardware and Steel Company, and subsequently abandoned. The organization was acquired by the Seattle Steel Company of Seattle in 1904, and the plant dismantled about 1917. Later, in 1918, the Pacific Coast Steel Company began the construction of a new steel plant and rolling mill. One open-hearth furnace was installed, but the rest of the construction was halted, and the plant left incomplete.

The history of the various attempts to make iron in Oregon indicates the difficulties, technical and commercial, which the various enterprises faced. The modern requirements of large resources of high grade ore, coking coal, and limestone easily accessible and close to cheap transportation facilities, could not be met by the venture at Oswego. Under these handicaps, no iron plant could long survive.

California

After the furnace at Oswego, Oregon, had been completed and in operation, attention was directed in California to the establishment of an iron plant at Clipper Gap, near Hotaling post office, in Placer County, to utilize the iron deposits at that place. As early as 1868 plans were made for the erection of a furnace to test the ores from this deposit, but no construction appears to have been carried on until 1879 or 1880. The furnace, a stone stack 45 feet high by 10 feet hearth diameter with closed top, employing hot blast, and using charcoal for fuel, was blown in April 24, 1881. Local bog and magnetite ores and limestone were used, and foundry pig iron produced. The furnace was rated at 12,000 net tons annual capacity. The California Iron and Steel Company

under the direction of A. P. Hotaling, Irving M. Scott, and Egbert Judson, managed the enterprise.

In 1882, after producing 987 tons of pig iron, the plant was partially destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt the following year, and produced 5,327 tons. This was the best year of this enterprise as the output declined in 1884. The furnace was shut down from October 1884, to February 1886, then blown in for a small production to utilize accumulated stocks of ore and charcoal, which terminated the activities at this plant.

The total reported production in net tons is given below:

1881	4,414
1882	987
1883	5,327
1884	2,157
1885	— —
1886	1,750
Total	14,635

This iron was all consumed around San Francisco. The record was brief and the production extremely small. The venture failed because of variable markets, the low price of iron, and competition of coke iron brought from the east and from Scotland. An important factor in preventing further development of a blast furnace industry in California was lack of coking coals and the high price of charcoal.

No other attempts were made to revive the pig iron industry until 1906 when the Noble Electric Steel Company contracted to build a furnace of the Heroult type for the direct production of pig iron by electric smelting methods in Shasta County, 8 miles from Kennett, to utilize the magnetite deposits on the Pitt River. This furnace was ready to operate in July, 1907. Experimental work was carried on and a small amount of pig iron was produced, but in 1908 a new type of furnace was built because of difficulties in operating the first type built. This operated over a period of several years until 1914 when the project was abandoned as a pig iron operation and attention focused on the manufacture of ferro-alloys.

In 1924, Mr. D. E. McLaughlin, vice president of the Pacific Coast Steel Company, and some of his associates organized a syndicate to develop a blast furnace plant in Southern California. At

the present time investigations are being carried on, but no decision has yet been made regarding final plans.

The operation of rolling mills was begun very early in California. The Pacific Rolling Mill of San Francisco started on July 25, 1868, and produced bar, angle iron, shafting, spikes, bolts, railroad and ship forgings from puddled iron. Steel rails were later rolled from purchased blooms, and in 1884 a 30-ton open-hearth steel furnace was built, from which steel was produced on July 15, 1884. This was the first steel produced on the Pacific Coast.

Many other organizations built rolling mills in the period from 1881 to 1884, contemporaneous with the Clipper Gap pig iron operation, some of which have continued to this day, but the greater number of these plants did not long survive. In recent years California has seen a great development of plants for the manufacture and the rolling of steel. The state has great potentialities in this activity and is the leader in the production of rolled steel products on the Coast.

Washington

The history of iron and steel development in Washington begins in territorial days with the organization of the Puget Sound Iron Company in 1880. The leading figures were Californians interested in the lumber business and in the steamship trade between Puget Sound and California ports. The principal shareholders were John A. Paxton; J. H. Redington; Hinckley, Spiers, and Hayes; Pope and Talbot; H. L. Dodge; G. W. Prescott; A. Chabot, and J. G. Kellog. Cyrus Walker was president. Some Port Townsend men were also concerned in the inauguration of the enterprise.

The plan seems to have had its origin in the fact that bog iron was known to occur in the Chimacum Valley near Port Townsend; plenty of timber was available for charcoal; the vicinity of Port Townsend was regarded as a logical assembling and shipping point for an iron industry. The backers of the project were engaged in timber, lumber, and in shipping enterprises in the Pacific Northwest, and iron was a logical addition to their interests, particularly in view of the demand for iron and steel products in the growing Coast cities to the south.

The first furnace built at Irondale, blown in on January 27, 1881, was an open top stone stack, 38 feet by 9 feet, using hot blast, and having a capacity of 4000 tons per year. During 1881 it produced 1200 tons of pig iron, but after operating a few months

the decision was made to tear it down and erect a new furnace. In 1882 a 50-ton furnace was erected; this was remodelled in 1884 after certain difficulties had arisen in its operation because of the refractory nature of the ores used. The dimensions of this furnace were as follows:—height 50 feet; bosh diameter 11 feet; crucible diameter 5 feet; diameter at stock line 8 feet. The furnace was of steel construction representing the latest practice of the time and had an estimated capacity of 30 tons a day or 10,000 tons per year. A Player hot blast stove containing 60 pipes; boilers; blowing engines; charcoal ovens and accessories completed the equipment.

The Chimacum bog ores on which the first furnace started to operate were limited in quantity and of low grade. Because of this, other sources of ore were investigated. A magnetite deposit on the west coast of Texada Island, British Columbia, had been discovered about 1870. This deposit offered great promise of a supply of high grade material, and arrangements were made with the owners of this property to furnish ore to be used as a mixture with the local limonite. A lease was secured and several thousand tons were shipped from the Paxton Mine to Irondale. Later, the property was purchased by the Puget Sound Iron Company, which still retains title to the principal iron holdings in Texada Island. Charcoal made at the plant was used exclusively for fuel.

In 1881 the original company transferred all its interests to a new organization incorporated in California, and the head office was moved to San Francisco. The old name, Puget Sound Iron Company, was retained. The officers from 1882 to 1884 were residents of San Francisco. John A. Paxton, president; John H. Redington, vice-president; C. H. Simpkins, treasurer; and A. Halsey, secretary, were the directing body. No iron was produced in 1882 during the period of construction of the new stack, and only a small quantity in 1884 when the furnace was under reconstruction. Production was very irregular and sporadic during the next few years as the table of production will show. In 1889, the maximum production, 10,371 tons, was reached.

The annual production of charcoal iron in net tons, reported by the United States Geological Survey, is given below:

1881	1,200
1882	— —
1883	2,317
1884	540

1885	1,857
1886	2,842
1887	1,586
1888	4,093
1889	10,371
<hr/>	
Total	24,806

The plant was closed in 1889 because the operations, conducted with the crude machinery then available, were not profitable. However, the quality of iron produced was very high. It is reported that the number one grade of Irondale pig iron was as fine as any charcoal iron made in the country. This iron was widely used in foundries and shops in California, and some was used in the construction of parts of the cruisers *Charleston* and *San Francisco* and the battleship *Oregon*, built during the years from 1887 to 1893 at the Union Iron Works in San Francisco.

Although the direct production of pig iron languished during the years from 1889 to 1902, the demand for manufactured material led to the building of a small mill for rolling iron merchant bar at Lakeview, near Tacoma, under the ownership of Richard Brown. The rolling equipment came from a dismantled plant at Burlington, Iowa, formerly operated by the Holcomb-Brown Iron Company. The Lakeview organization, known as the Western Iron and Steel Company, was incorporated in 1894 and began rolling operations in May, 1895, but it was not a success. Judge E. M. Wilson, now president of the Pacific Coast Steel Company, then a resident of Youngstown, Ohio, was sent to Tacoma in 1896 to straighten out the legal difficulties which had arisen. He remained at Lakeview and took charge of the operation as president and general manager.

About this time, 1901 or 1902, Mr. William Pigott had purchased a small mill and had acquired a site on land across from Seattle beyond the west side of the Duwamish River, where the present plant of the Pacific Coast Steel Company is located. He took preliminary steps to erect the mill with the expectation of rolling iron and steel products, but stored the equipment temporarily while negotiating with the Lakeview organization to remove its plant to Seattle. Judge Wilson was induced to do this and consolidated his interests with those of Mr. Pigott. Accordingly, the Seattle Steel Company was incorporated on November 23, 1903, with Mr. Wilson as president and Mr. Pigott as vice-president,

and operations were begun on the site selected by Mr. Pigott, now known as Youngstown.

The further history of this enterprise will be discussed at this point although chronologically it overlaps later developments. The Seattle Steel Company's plant was built in 1904-1905, and was first put into operation on May 6, 1905. The equipment consisted of six iron bushelling furnaces, five heating furnaces, and three trains of rolls, 9-inch, 12-inch, and 16-inch—the 12-inch mill representing the equipment purchased by Mr. Pigott, the 9-inch and the 16-inch mills the installation at Lakeview. In 1904, shortly after its incorporation, the Seattle Steel Company acquired the rolling mill at Portland, Oregon, and ultimately dismantled it. The Pacific Coast Steel Company of California, organized by Dr. D. P. Doak and incorporated on May 13, 1909, had built a new open-hearth steel plant and rolling mill at South San Francisco. This organization entered into negotiations with the Seattle enterprise which led to a merger of the two companies on July 15, 1911,—the consolidation retaining the name Pacific Coast Steel Company. The products made during the earlier years of operation at Youngstown were bar iron, flats, rounds, squares, and rerolled light steel rails. The first open-hearth furnace for the production of steel at this mill was completed in 1915, after the purchase of the Irondale plant and its equipment from the Western Steel Corporation. Subsequently, three additional open-hearth furnaces were built, and the rolling mill equipment increased. Today, this plant produces steel products only.

The Irondale project lay dormant from 1889 to 1900, when Mr. Homer H. Swaney of Pittsburgh became interested in the venture. He made an investigation of the iron smelting situation on the Pacific Coast, and became impressed by its possibilities. The Puget Sound Iron Company plant was taken over; various iron claims in British Columbia at Sechart, Sarita, and Sooke Harbor were acquired; a lease on the Texada Island property was secured; and eastern engineers were called in to pass on various matters connected with the new enterprise. Mr. E. V. D'Inviliers of Philadelphia made an examination of coal, iron, and limestone properties in British Columbia and Washington in May 1900. The Wellman-Seaver Engineering Company of Cleveland, Ohio, was engaged in September in connection with the metallurgical problems involved in rehabilitating the plant. Mr. J. H. Cremer, their engineer, made a study of the furnace plant at Irondale as

well as of several of the iron properties in British Columbia and Coal properties in Washington. In connection with his investigations, Mr. Cremer caused by-product coking tests to be made of Wilkeson coal at the plant of the United Coke and Gas Company at Otto, Pennsylvania. Later, in 1902, Mr. Horace V. Winchell, acting for New York interests, reported on the iron ores of the North Pacific area and their availability for pig iron manufacture.

The organization, formed in 1901 with Mr. Swaney as vice president to take over the Irondale plant, was called the Pacific Steel Company. Under its management the furnace was relined to give a stack height of 60 feet, a bosh 12 feet in diameter, and a 6 feet crucible; an additional stove and boiler were added; various repairs made; and the plant put into operation on December 15, 1901. The changes in the furnace increased its potential capacity to 60 tons of iron per day. Texada Island magnetite ore mixed with a small percentage of ore from Hamilton, Washington, constituted the charge. The limestone used came from Roche Harbor. An attempt was made to use coke from Cokedale in Skagit County, but the fuel did not prove satisfactory. Further tests were made with mixtures of coke and charcoal, but the coke was too poor in quality and its use was abandoned in favor of charcoal alone. This charcoal was made at the plant in a battery of 20 kilns each 30 feet by 30 feet in size. It must be remembered that the entire project was regarded as an experiment to determine whether iron could be successfully produced in the Pacific Northwest.

The results of the trial tests at Irondale, extending over a year, during which time something over 6000 tons of pig iron were made, proved that iron of good quality could be manufactured. Production continued on a small scale until 1903. The product was used by foundries and machine shops along the coast from Alaska to Southern California, and pronounced to be first-class. As a matter of historical interest, some of the iron was used in the engines of the battleship Nebraska built during 1902 to 1904 at the shipyard of Moran Brothers in Seattle. The success of the experimental operation led to ambitious plans for the upbuilding of the iron plant, and expansion into steel production.

The Seattle Iron and Steel Company was projected and incorporated in 1903 to take over the properties and plant of the Pacific Steel Company, enlarge the blast furnace at Irondale, and at a proposed site in Seattle to erect basic open-hearth furnaces,

rolling mills, and a modern 250-ton blast furnace. The authorized capital stock was \$6,000,000, in addition to which \$2,000,000 were to be raised by the sale of bonds. Mr. Swaney's name headed the new organization, and a board of trustees made up of leading business men of Seattle was created. Mr. Swaney continued his activities in acquiring properties and perfecting plans for the new company, and was engaged in this activity when he lost his life in the wreck of the steamer Clallam on January 9, 1904. His death resulted in the cessation of all the activities of the Pacific Steel Company and of its proposed successor the Seattle Iron and Steel Company. One of the factors or causes which contributed to the failure was an over-ambitious attempt to acquire iron ore properties, real estate, rolling mills and other facilities much in excess of the needs of the project. The time had not arrived for activity on so large a scale; the program was top-heavy, and collapse came with the loss of the prime mover in the enterprise.

Following the failure of the plans of the Pacific Steel Company and the Seattle Iron and Steel Company, other attempts were made to revive the project. In September, 1906, the Irondale plant was bought by Mr. James A. Moore of Seattle for \$40,000 at a court sale. After certain alterations and renovations made by the Wellman-Seaver-Morgan Company in 1906, which increased its capacity to 80 tons, the furnace was put in blast in 1907. The operating organization at this time was known as the Irondale Furnace Company. A small amount of pig iron was produced in 1907 and in 1908, but the existing financial depression reduced the market demand, and the furnace was shut down. No iron was produced in 1909.

In the meantime, on October 2, 1909, the Western Steel Corporation, capitalization \$20,000,000, was organized with Mr. Moore as president. This company made pretentious plans for steel furnaces and mills as adjuncts to the blast furnace plant; purchased coal properties in Washington and in British Columbia; iron ore deposits in Washington, British Columbia, and Nevada; limestone and dolomite areas in Washington; magnesite in British Columbia; and entered into a very favorable contract with the Han Yeh Ping Iron and Coal Company of Hankow, China, for a supply of iron ore and of pig iron to supplement the supply from its own operations.

The furnace was again blown in during the spring of 1910. The first cargo of Chinese ore and pig iron arrived at Irondale on

July 1, 1910, on the steamship Riverdale under charter by the Robert Dollar Company. A total of 25,000 tons of ore valued at \$47,750 was imported during the year. The furnace charges consisted of two-thirds Chinese ore with one-third of local ores from the Northwest. The old charcoal kilns were abandoned, and coke from Pierce County purchased for fuel pending the building of ovens proposed to coke coal from Graham Island, British Columbia, and from Ashford, Washington. The blast furnace operation did not continue after 1910.

The pig iron made locally, together with the Chinese pig iron, was used with scrap in open-hearth furnaces to produce steel, which was subsequently rolled into billets and finished shapes. The pig iron and steel produced were of good quality,—again demonstrating the metallurgical and technical success of the operations. But, history repeated itself. The company became insolvent, and the plant was closed in 1911. Various explanations have been given of the failure; the leading causes involved the acquisition of too many undeveloped iron and coal properties of uncertain value, ventures into real estate promotion at Irondale, plant construction in excess of existing market demands, and insufficient capital to carry through the pretentious program of the backers of the enterprise.

The Western Steel Corporation passed into the hands of receivers; the various holdings of iron ore, coal, and limestone properties were disposed of, and the physical plant at Irondale was sold to the Pacific Coast Steel Company in 1914. The open-hearth furnace and rolling mill equipment were later removed to the Seattle plant, and the blast furnace was allowed to fall into disrepair. In 1917 the scarcity and the high prices of pig iron on the Pacific Coast led the Pacific Coast Steel Company to rehabilitate the old furnace and undertake the production of pig iron as a war emergency measure. Accordingly, the furnace was blown in on September 10, 1917, and operated fairly continuously until February 27, 1919. The Chinese and other ore remaining from the shipments made in 1910 and 1911 by the Western Steel Corporation, together with additional ore supplies from British Columbia, mill cinder from the rolling mills at Lakeview and Seattle, limestone from Roche Harbor, and coke from the Wilkeson-Carbonado field in Washington were used during this period. The production was 22,316 gross tons of iron, made up largely of basic pig iron for open-hearth operations and a small amount of foundry iron for

special requirements. The operation was costly, and was discontinued when the supplies of old raw material on hand were used up, as no cheap sources of new material from the Northwest had become available on which to continue production even under the stress of war demands.

During the later intermittent operations of the Irondale furnace, it is estimated that 6,000 tons were made during 1902 and 1903 under the regime of the Pacific Steel Company, and 10,000 tons when the plant was running under the direction of Mr. James A. Moore in 1907, 1908, and in 1910. The production from September 1917 to February 1919 made by the Pacific Coast Steel Company was practically 25,000 net tons, an amount equal to the total output of the same plant from 1881 to 1889. The total contribution of the Irondale furnaces is approximately 66,000 net tons.

The history of pig iron manufacture in Washington closes with the shut-down of the Irondale furnace in 1919. Nothing now remains of the plant except a shell, a few dilapidated wooden structures, and the slag heaps built up at various periods since 1881.

The possibilities of engaging in the blast furnace industry in Washington have occupied the attention of various individuals and groups over the period covered by the Irondale operations. There is no question that the iron resources of Washington and of the Pacific Coast in general were largely over-estimated in the early days of development and growth in this area. The period of active mining in the Mesabi region, the growth of the size of blast furnace plants, and the great expansion of the steel industry due to industrial demands of the Atlantic seaboard had not yet arrived. The early investigators and promoters based their comparisons on the conditions existing in the Appalachian region, where small furnaces operating on local supplies of ore met the demands of pig iron for the cities near them. Population and industries to absorb a large output of pig iron was lacking on the Pacific Coast; in addition the activities and the interests of the people were largely along other lines than manufacturing. Yet, a demand existed for iron and steel products, obtained largely by shipment from the eastern centers of production. Under these circumstances, it was natural to expect great interest in the potentialities of an iron industry which should be one of the factors in building up the new empires along the Pacific Ocean.

Following the inception of the Irondale project, it was report-

ed in 1882 that an English company under the name of the Tacoma Iron and Steel Company was projecting a blast furnace plant at Tacoma. The iron ores at Hamilton in Skagit County and the coking coals in Pierce County were to supply the plant. Litigation over title to the iron properties, and other difficulties ended this project.

English capital was again reported to be interested in 1886, when announcement was made that the Moss Bay Hematite Iron and Steel Company of Workington, England, had decided to remove its plant to Washington. This was brought about through the activities of Mr. Peter Kirk, a representative of that firm, who had arrived on the Pacific Coast a short time before in connection with the sale of rails to the proposed new railroad from Seattle to Spokane, known as the Seattle, Lake Shore, and Eastern Railway. The initial intent was to build the line from Seattle through to Snoqualmie Pass to secure the freight on the coal, iron, limestone, and timber immediately tributary. The Denny iron mine at Snoqualmei Pass had been investigated and reported upon, and it was the general belief that large tonnages of ore would be available.

Mr. Kirk had become interested in the possibilities of manufacturing iron and steel near Seattle. In this activity he was encouraged by the owners of the Denny and other properties along the western and the eastern slopes of the Cascades near the projected line of the new railroad. Kirk studied the project for two years, and was joined by W. W. Williams who had come over from England to participate in the investigation. The Denny properties were leased to him for 45 years, one of the conditions being that the proposed iron industry should be located in or near Seattle. In 1887, Kirk was working on a possible plant site at Salal Prairie, near North Bend; prospecting iron deposits near the Pass; and investigating coking coal deposits on Snoqualmie Mountain south of Preston, and north of Green river near Kangley. The results of the study of the iron and limestone deposits appears to have been satisfactory, but the matter of the coal supply was not settled, largely because the deposits nearby did not make as good coke as those in Pierce County near Wilkeson.

The Moss Bay Iron and Steel Company of America was finally organized in 1888 with a capital of \$5,000,000. Peter Kirk was president, H. A. Noble, treasurer, and W. W. Williams, secretary. The investigations by Peter Kirk of the distribution of the basic resources led to the selection of a site on Lake Washington,

whose plat was filed on November 2, 1888, and which was named Kirkland in his honor. The reported intention of the company was to establish at this place the greatest iron and steel plant on the Pacific Coast. The company failed, however, and was succeeded in May, 1890, by the Great Western Iron and Steel Company, capitalized at \$1,000,000 and officered by Seattle men. The leading stockholders were eastern men, among whom were General Russell A. Alger, Detroit; Joshua N. Sears, Boston; Hon. J. B. Fassett, Elmira; H. A. Noble, Des Moines, and the following local representatives: A. A. Denny, Columbus T. Tyler, Edward Blewett, Jacob Furth, L. S. J. Hunt, Bailey Gatzert, and Peter Kirk and W. W. Williams of the original English group.

During this period effort was centered in developing the iron ores and in building a furnace plant at Kirkland. The project of the earlier company had been delayed; the new company now proposed to spend \$1,000,000 in construction of the plant. Shops were begun, fire brick was ordered from England, and it was planned to begin construction of the blast furnace as soon as the structural material should arrive from England. On August 10, 1891, the ship Malcolm King reached Seattle from Maryport, England, with the English fire brick, but something had occurred which halted the work, and the bubble burst before construction of the furnace was begun. Thus, the Kirkland boom died.

The name of Mr. James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railway is frequently mentioned in connection with the question of iron ore resources and blast furnace construction in the Pacific Northwest. As nearly as can be learned, Mr. Hill first looked into the situation about 1886 or 1887 because of the interest of English capital in the matter of renewing operations at Irondale or in building a new blast furnace and steel plant to supply steel billets for a demand then existing in Japan. Several engineers were sent to the Coast. They made an extensive survey of the deposits in British Columbia, but were not satisfied that a sufficient tonnage of ore had been developed to justify any continuous basis of operation. The plans of the English group were accordingly given up. Later, when the Great Northern Railway reached Seattle, Mr. Hill's engineers made another survey without favorable results.

Enthusiastic owners of ore deposits and promoters of iron and steel plants arise every few years to keep the issue alive. Most of these have been of little moment except as a source of journalistic

activity. The most important effort was made in 1916 and 1917. A syndicate composed of William H. Crocker, Wellington Gregg, Jr., S. F. B. Morse, and B. L. Thane of San Francisco made extensive surveys and investigations of raw materials, operation cost, and markets. Negotiations leading to the financing of a corporation to construct blast furnaces and steel mills in the Northwest were carried on during the war period, and seemed to be progressing favorably when the armistice was signed. The change in the economic and industrial structure brought about by the close of the war altered the entire situation on the Coast, and caused the project to be abandoned.

In an effort to obtain the fundamental facts regarding the potentialities of the Pacific Northwest as a center for the production of pig iron, Mr. William Pigott of the Pacific Coast Steel Company sponsored an investigation in 1924 and 1925 of the feasibility of establishing a blast furnace plant on Puget Sound. In this study, the coking coal, the possibilities of by-product coking, and the supplies of limestone, in Washington were given careful attention, and the distribution of the resources of iron ore along the Pacific Rim which might be regarded as possible supplies for a local blast furnace plant were investigated. The results of the research bring out the fact that the state of Washington possesses the necessary coking coal and limestone in ample quantities and of suitable quality for blast furnace operation. On the other hand, as already proved by the facts related in this history, considerable doubt exists regarding the adequacy of a supply of ore in the area immediately tributary to the Northwest Pacific Coast. No large bodies of ore have been developed on which a plant may be constructed with the assurance of continuous supply for operation over a period of years. However, the Orient, portions of the west coast of South America and of Mexico, and possibly California, possess deposits which at some time may become available as raw material for an industry in this state. Certain it appears, in spite of the failures of the past, that some day iron ore will be brought to Washington's deposits of coal and limestone, and a blast furnace plant will be built to yield a stream of pig iron for the hungry needs of industry. The technical and metallurgical phases may be regarded as settled, for the product made in the past was eminently suitable for all requirements and was of high quality. The future day depends on the progress of manufacturing activity and on economic

necessity and law rather than on the vain ambitions of man.

JOSEPH DANIELS.

January 20, 1926

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THE RECOLLECTIONS OF BEN BURGUNDER

Introduction

In 1921-22, when I was collecting historical information from pioneers of Whitman County, I was informed by Ray Walter, a newspaper man of Colfax, Washington, that Ben Burgunder, at that time one of the oldest pioneers of the Inland Empire, had in his possession a manuscript of his own preparation that contained a description of his early experiences in the Pacific Northwest. I was also told by Mr. Walter that Mr. Burgunder was not willing at that time to have the manuscript published. Last September, when I was visiting in Colfax, Mr. Walter told me that he had examined this manuscript at the time of Mr. Burgunder's death and had used it in preparing an obituary for publication in the *Colfax Gazette*. He had, however, returned the manuscript to Leonard Burgunder, a son of Ben Burgunder. Upon inquiry we learned that Leonard Burgunder still had the manuscript, and from him I obtained the loan of it, with permission to have the article published.

Mr. Burgunder's manuscript is typewritten and not dated. Leonard Burgunder was not able to tell me the year in which his father had prepared it, although he said that it had been written in recent years, probably within the last five or six. It will be observed that some proper names in the manuscript were misspelled and that I have made some corrections. These misspellings, I believe, were not due to carelessness on the part of Mr. Burgunder, but rather to carelessness on the part of the person who did the typing. In comparing the manuscript with contemporaneous writings I am impressed by the remarkable accuracy shown by Mr. Burgunder in preparing these recollections.

It is not thought necessary to write in this introduction a life sketch of Mr. Burgunder, for in the following pages the essential facts of his life are told in his own words. He died at his home in Colfax on February 20, 1925, being almost eighty years old. An account of the funeral services and a brief sketch of his life may be read in the *Colfax Gazette* of February 27, 1925. From this sketch I quote briefly in order to make available to the readers of this magazine some facts pertaining to the later life of Mr. Burgunder that are not mentioned in his manuscript.

"He engaged in business in this city [Colfax] with William H. Bishop. The next year [1880] he formed a partnership with
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Schwabacher Brothers and conducted one of the leading stores in this city until 1890, when the store was sold and Mr. Burgunder retired to look after his private business affairs.

"He served on the city council, was president of the local commercial organization and for years was active in promoting the Whitman county fair and the old Spokane fruit fair, which later became the Spokane Interstate Fair.

"In 1885 he married Dora L. Lansdale in Colfax. Four sons were born to them, one dying in infancy. The three surviving sons are S. E. Burgunder, with a large produce company at The Dalles; R. M. Burgunder, deputy prosecuting attorney of King County; and Leonard Burgunder, in Colfax. Mrs. Burgunder passed away about eleven years ago."

In preparing the Burgunder manuscript for publication I have been greatly aided by the writings of two of Mr. Burgunder's contemporaries, W. P. Winans and Daniel Drumheller. A few years ago Mr. Winans, who had kept a diary during his residence at Fort Colville in the sixties, prepared a manuscript entitled *Stevens County, Washington: Its Creation, Addition, Subtraction and Division*. The part of this manuscript which pertains to the military history of Fort Colville was published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (Vol. III, No. 1). The manuscript was also used by N. W. Durham of Spokane in the preparation of his *Spokane and the Inland Empire* (1912). Recently, as a result of correspondence between Vice President C. S. Kingston and members of the Winans family, a copy of this manuscript has been obtained for the Normal School library (Cheney). In referring to this writing in the footnotes hereafter, I shall designate it the *Winans Ms.*

The *Recollections of Daniel Drumheller* were published serially in the *Spokane Sunday Spokesman-Review*, starting with the issue of April 3, 1921. Curiously enough, Mr. Drumheller, whose experiences in the Pacific Northwest began at about the same time as Mr. Burgunder's, survived Mr. Burgunder only a few days. He died in Los Angeles on February 28, 1925. I shall hereafter refer to Mr. Drumheller's autobiography as the *Drumheller Recollections*. (This autobiography has recently been published in book form under the title of "*Uncle Dan*" *Drumheller Tells Thrills of Western Trails in 1854*).

I have also had at my disposal the first three volumes of the *Palouse Gazette*, a weekly newspaper which was established in

Colfax in 1877. This newspaper has been published continuously since its inception, although for many years it has been called the *Colfax Gazette*.

Brief accounts of the gold-mining days on the Upper Columbia River may be read in H. H. Bancroft's *History of British Columbia*, chapter xxvii, and in W. J. Trimble's *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire*, chapter iv. An invaluable source for this period of the history of the Pacific Northwest is the *Washington Statesman*, a weekly newspaper published in Walla Walla. Walla Walla was a center of considerable importance during the gold-mining days in the Inland Empire, for much of the traffic that came up the Columbia River, as well as large numbers of miners, passed through this town en route to Boise Basin or to the mines in the north. Walla Walla was also, to some extent, a "wintering place" for miners who could not afford to go to California. The *Statesman* recorded, week by week, the comings and the goings of groups of miners, packers, and cattle drovers; conflicting stories regarding rich "strikes" also found space in this journal, as well as many interesting letters written to the editor by men in the mining country. A satisfactory, although not complete, bound file of this newspaper for the decade of the sixties is available for study in the library of the University of Washington. The several books, newspapers and manuscripts which have been consulted in editing this paper are specifically cited in the footnotes.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

The Recollections of Ben Burgunder

I was born the fifteenth of April, 1845, in the city of New York, of German-Bavarian parentage. I wanted to go in the army but my parents said I was too young, so I came West with friends. I was seventeen years old when I left home. We started on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1862, from Cincinnati, Ohio, and went to St. Joe, Missouri. We started across the plains May 22, 1862, and we came by mule team. We had two four-mule teams and a lot of loose mules, three horses and one ambulance. We left Omaha June 1, 1862. We had two drivers for the mule teams, one cook, who was the wife of one of the men, three women and three small children. There were also four men besides the two drivers: Marcus Oppenheimer, Alec Kaufman, Louis Eckard and Joseph Oppenheimer's boy and girl who were babies. Carrie Oppenheimer, who was a niece of Mr. Oppenheimer, and myself. We had at one time in our party thirty or forty wagons.

We started by ourselves, but when we got to Omaha we joined a train. We elected officers for the train and elected Alec Kaufman captain. We elected him captain because he had been across the plains before. Later, when we struck a party from Denver, we elected another man for captain.

We took the Landers cut-off through the Bear River Mountains and when we struck camp at noon one day at the foot of the mountains on a creek we saw eight Indians coming towards camp. As soon as we saw them we tied our bell mare and saddle horses to the wagon. When the Indians came into camp they wanted something to eat. Some of the party were for feeding them and some were not, but the majority wanted to feed them. We gave them their dinner. Mrs. Oppenheimer pointed one of the Indians out as a white man and we all laughed at her. We then moved camp for the night and of course we always formed a corral and put the horses and mules on the inside of the corral and left one opening, and we had guards every night. About midnight we heard a lot of shots and the Indians came up where the corral was closed and tried to stampede the animals to the mouth of the corral, but they didn't scare the stock, but they did scare the women like the "devil." In the morning after the Indians tried to stampede our stock they went back to our noon camp where there was now a big cattle train (immigrants driving with cattle) camped, and they stole a lot of their cattle and drove them off. The immigrants followed the Indians, recovered the cattle, and killed three Indians, or two Indians and a white man, or what was supposed to be three Indians, and the white man hollered, "For God's sake don't kill me," and the men asked him what he was doing there and he replied, "This is the way I make my living." They gave him a bullet and sent him to his long home. That is the only accident we had crossing the plains. We didn't see any game on the road except two antelopes on top of the mountains where we couldn't shoot them. We brought all our provisions with us. One wagon was loaded with the bedding and one was loaded with provisions. We came through the Grande Ronde Valley and John Day and Deschutes Rivers and struck the Columbia River at The Dalles. We arrived at The Dalles September 16, 1862, with the teams. It took us three and one-half months to cross. Some took six months to cross. We went from The Dalles to Portland, Oregon. The train broke up before we got to The Dalles, and we were alone when we struck the Grande Ronde Valley.

I stayed in Portland until January 1, 1863. I came to The Dalles and went into the General Merchandise business with Dus-berri Brothers, January, 1863. In September, 1863, they sent me to Walla Walla to their other store, and on the fourteenth day of December, 1863, I went to Colville to take charge of a store belonging to the D. H. Ferguson Co. at what is now called Marcus, Washington, on the banks of the Columbia River.¹ The first time I went to Colville I went with the mail man and we followed the Mullan Road until it turned off to the East. We crossed on the ferry at the mouth of the Palouse, run by the McQuirk Brothers. The trails ran up the Palouse River. Starting from Walla Walla, we crossed the Touchet at Spalding's Place called the Mullan Crossing. From there we went to the ferry at the mouth of the Palouse, run by McQuirk² Brothers, and then to Cow Creek and then to Lugenbeet [Lougenebeel Creek]³ and from there we went to Colville Lake,⁴ and from there the road went right through where Sprague is now. From there we went to Spokane Ferry, known now as LaPray bridge,⁵ then run by James Monaghan (Spokane Jimmy).⁶ From there we went to Walker's Ferry [Prairie], which was named after the missionary. After we left Walker's Ferry [Prairie] we followed the trail to Fool's Prairie; the wagon road went by Jump-Off Creek and Cottonwood and by Chewelah. From there we went to Colville, where I stopped a

1 "The same year [1863] the initial store was established at Marcus by a man named Ferguson. He soon encountered opposition, for shortly afterward William Vernon Brown opened a second store. Marcus Oppenheimer, the homesteader of the site of Marcus, soon purchased Mr. Ferguson's interests at this point, and subsequently took his two brothers, Samuel and Joseph, into partnership with him. The Oppenheimers and Mr. Brown continued to conduct their respective merchantile establishments at Marcus for many years, and the town developed into quite a lively trading point. Their stocks of goods were brought in by freighters from Walla Walla. . . . June 27, 1890, Marcus Oppenheimer, for whom the place was named, and Joseph Monaghan platted the town."—*History of North Washington* (1904), p. 152.

2 "Mr. McWhirk is having a new town site surveyed at the Snake River ferry at the mouth of the Palouse. If the Kootenai mines prove to be as extensive as they now promise, the town will become a place of at least some importance, situated as it will be on the wagon road to that country and Colville. It will also have some claims to being the nearest point to the mines from steamboat navigation."—*Washington Statesman*, March 5, 1864.

"Palouse city is the name of the new town recently laid off at McWhirk's Ferry, at the crossing of Snake river, on the Colville road."—*Ibid.*, March 26, 1864.

"Mr. McWhirk informs us that about 100 pack animals have crossed his ferry this spring en route for the Kootenai mines."—*Ibid.*, April 2, 1864.

3 A small creek emptying into Colville Lake. See *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 86.

4 This is now commonly called Sprague Lake. The early settlers in Eastern Washington frequently referred to it as Big Lake.

5 "In 1859 and 1860 J. R. Bates operated the ferry at the Government crossing on the Spokane River. He sold out to W. J. Terry and William Nixon, and on September 20th, 1860, James Monaghan was employed by them to take charge of it, he at that time being 20 years old. The legislature on January 11, 1861, granted them a charter to build a bridge. This ferry afterwards became the property of James Monaghan, who built the first bridge in 1865 at this crossing. This bridge afterwards was called LaPray's Bridge, Joseph LaPray purchasing it about 1875."—*Winans Ms.*, p. 25. See N. W. Durham, *Spokane and the Inland Empire*, II, 7.

6 Spokane Jimmie was a well-known character among the pioneers. A. J. Splawn, who passed by this place in 1867, mentions him.—*Ka-mi-a-kin*, p. 227. See also the recollections of a pioneer, John E. Smith, in the *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 273, and a biographical sketch of Monaghan in N. W. Durham, *op. cit.*, II, 7 et seq.

couple of days and then went down to Marcus where I had charge of the store. This used to be the British Boundary Survey Barracks.⁷ The Hudson Bay Fort was two miles this way from Marcus on the Columbia.

The mail carrier had one pack animal and three saddle horses. He had one soldier as passenger besides myself. We stopped at the ferry and then took a lunch along and we had our meals at the ferry and then had our lunch at Fool's Prairie.

Did most of our general merchandise trade with the Indians and miners at Marcus. Trade from British Columbia, Okanogan country and down the Columbia River. The chief articles we sold were groceries, overalls, boots, shoes, tobacco and shirts, etc. I called Colville my home for fifteen years. In 1866 I went in partnership with R. Lamphere, and we took a stock of goods on the Steamer "49" to LaPort[e]⁸, B.C., 275 miles above Marcus.⁹ (The head of navigation of Columbia). Then we hired small boats to take our stuff to Gold Creek, B.C., and then we hired men to pack it across the mountains a mile and a half to Gold Creek where they put it in canoes or small boats to freight it to McCullough Creek¹⁰ where my partner started a store, and the rest of the goods we took up in boats to the mouth of French Creek and had them packed a mile and a half on men's backs to our store that I started on French Creek. R. Lamphere & Co. was the name of the firm. In the winter of 1864-65 the miners that were at Marcus built a lot of small boats and went up the Columbia River prospecting. In the spring of '65 they struck Downey¹¹ Creek, Carnes Creek,¹² McCullough Creek, and French Creek.¹³ On the latter two creeks

7 "The same year, 1859, the British Boundary Commission, under Col. Hawkins, located their quarters on the south side of the Columbia River, two miles above Kettle Falls and about fifteen miles from the American post, built comfortable log houses to shelter his command of sappers and miners. The place is now occupied by the town of Marcus, and in July 1903, only one of the original houses was still standing."—*Winans Ms.*, 17. The British abandoned this post on April 4, 1862.—*Id.*, 18. The town of Marcus was named in honor of Marcus Oppenheimer. Writing in his diary under date of September 8, 1863, Winans said: "Marcus Oppenheimer and W. V. Brown took possession of some of the buildings of the British Boundary Commission abandoned last year by Col. Hawkins, and the sappers and miners." This site was homesteaded by Oppenheimer.—*Id.*, 11.

8 La Porte, located on the Columbia River, between Downie and Gold Creeks, north of the Arrow Lakes.

9 Various distances are given in contemporaneous and in later accounts. These range from 225 miles to "about 300 miles." See Lieut. Thomas W. Symons, *Report of an Examination of the Upper Columbia River*. . . ., p. 12.

11 Downie Creek.

12 Hank Carnes prospected Harnes Creek in the spring of 1865.—H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, p. 537.

13 These creeks are located in the British Columbia "Big Bend" of the Columbia River. French and McCulloch Creeks are branches of Gold Creek. For an account of the mining activities in the "Big Bend" of the Columbia, as well as for a brief story of the Kootenai excitement, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, chap. xxvii. See also an editorial in the *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, October 24, 1925, and W. J. Trimble's *The Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire*, chap. iv.

they struck placer mines in the fall of '65.¹⁴ This created the excitement of the Big Bend country, or the rush of '66. The miners came up on boats from Portland and San Francisco.¹⁵ From British Columbia they came by Shuswap Lake¹⁶ and packed across the mountains to the Columbia River and from the Columbia River to McCullough and French Creeks.¹⁷ They went by dog teams and the Indians packed the freight. The miners packed all the grub on their own backs. The government made a trail from La Porte steamboat landing in 1866 to McCullough and French Creek which was called twenty miles, but Mr. Moberly the engineer measured the road by horseback and must have thrown in his horse's tail for good measure as it was more nearly twenty-five miles than twenty. One streak payed [sic] well in the French and McCullough Creek strike. They got \$3500 in five days but got no more after that.¹⁸

Freight was sixty cents a pound from Portland to the mines. In the fall of 1867 I bought my partner out and in 1868, the mines being a failure, I brought what goods we had down to Marcus. Perry Creek gold mines being struck in the fall of 1868, I formed a partnership with Oppenheimer Company and we started a store at Perry Creek. I sold out to them in 1870 and came back to Colville and in the spring of 1871 I took pack trains loaded with bacon, flour, to Cedar Creek, Montana. Perry Creek was struck by a half-breed by the name of Perrier.¹⁹ It was struck in the summer [?] of 1868 and it proved to be a failure as it had only one little pay streak. It was only about twenty miles from the

14 "About 100 miners wintered (1864-65) at Marcus and in the spring of 1865 started up the Columbia River and prospected the streams emptying into it, and discovered the French Creek or Big Bend mines in the fall of 1865."—*Winans Ms.*, 26.

15 "The rush from the lower countries to the Columbia and Blackfoot mines via this point still continues unabated. The stages come from Wallula daily, loaded down with passengers; some of them come with the intention of making this place their home, or preparing to start for the gold regions of Montana or Columbia."—*Walla Walla Statesman*, March 9, 1866.

For some account of the routes of travel to the Upper Columbia River mines in these years consult Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 532 *et seq.*

16 Shuswap Lake, north of Okanogan Lake.

17 In the *Walla Walla Statesman* of March 2, 1866, appeared the following: "The Victoria papers are endeavoring to make miners believe that the most direct route to the Columbia River mines is by way of Fort Hope, thence to Shuswap Lake, and so on to the mines. . . . Early in April Capt. Len White will have his boat running on the Upper River, by which conveyance miners will be taken within 20 miles of the mines. By this route supplies can be taken into the mines at a figure not to exceed 15 or 18 cents, while by way of Fort Hope, the figure is about 40 cents. An attempt to divert travel from the legitimate channel in order to further out-of-the-way interests is poor business for newspapers, and we are sorry to see the Victoria papers thus prostituting their columns."

18 For returns from French and McCulloch Creeks see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 535-536.

19 Perry Creek, a branch of St. Mary's River, "was opened in 1867 by Dan Kennedy, Little Sullivan, and a half-breed named Frank Perry, who had been fitted out by the miners of Wild Horse Creek to make locations on their behalf."—Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 526. It will be noticed that Bancroft and Burgunder do not quite agreed on the date of this strike.

Wild Horse country where gold had been struck in 1863.²⁰ This is now called Fort Steele. A railroad now runs right on the trail we used to pack on. We used to camp on what was called Joseph's Prairie. This is where the site of the town of Cranbrook now is. The International Railroad out of Spokane runs through this place. The Kootenai mines were the best. They were struck in the fall of 1863.²¹ Mines were also struck in Montana in 1863 and these were the first real strikes in the country. We stopped at a ferry and wayside house which is now the town of Riparia and which was then called the Texas Ferry. A man by the name of Doolittle (who had an Indian wife) started a wayside house and built a bridge that crossed the Palouse River at the mouth of Rock Creek. A man by the name of Heines started a wayside house at Rock Creek (Little Rock Creek) near Spokane. A man by the name of Spokane Jackson²² started a house at Moran Prairie in the early '60's, where the residence of J. J. Browne now stands. Joe Herron [Herrin] and Tim Lee started a ferry on the upper Spokane, known now as Cowley Bridge, in 1863.²³ Charlie Kendall bought out Tim Lee and Joe Herron [Herrin] in 1865 and later Charlie Kendall was murdered, shot by a man named Joe Leonard. His property was sold at administrative sale and Cowley and Ford bought the property.²⁴ A ferry was started on the road going to Kootenai country called Simiachtine²⁵ and an-

²⁰ Wild Horse Creek is a small tributary of the Kootenai River. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 523.

²¹ "Just as Cariboo reached the zenith of its yield in the fall of 1863, came rumors of a new field in the far southeastern corner of British Columbia. The principal diggings were upon Wild Horse Creek, which flows into the Kootenai River about fifty miles north of the Boundary."—W. J. Trimble, *The Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire*, 56. "The real importance of the Kootenai mines in the mining history of the Inland Empire arose from their location, they being remote from the commercial and governmental centres of the British colonies and easily accessible from the territories to the south. . . . Consequently, in spite of high tariff, improvement of the British trail, and eagerness of the government to draw trade to Victoria, physiographic considerations prevailed, and nearly all of the trade was with points south of the boundary."—*Id.*, 58.

²² See Daniel Drumbeller's account of his meetings with Spokane Jackson, both in British Columbia and subsequently in the Spokane country, in the *Spokane Sunday Spokeman-Review*, May 8, 1921.

²³ "The first bridge built on the Spokane River was above the Mullan Road crossing, in 1864, by Tim Lee, Joe Herring [Herrin] and Ned Jordan. The high water in the spring of 1865 took it out, and it was rebuilt by the same parties that year."—*Winans Ms.*, 25. Cf. *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 87-88.

²⁴ "The well-known firm of Cowley & Ford, of Spokan Bridge, has been dissolved, Mr. M. M. Cowley continuing the business."—*Spokane Times*, April 14, 1881.

²⁵ This word is spelt in various ways. For example, in the *Washington Statesman* of September 23, 1864, there appeared this story: "Mr. Richards, an old miner, returned this week from what is called 'Simenaketen,' at the crossing of the Pen d'Oreille river. Numbers of miners bound for the new El Dorado—Kootenai—continued to pass the Ferry at that point. He met several pack trains this side of the Spokane, going to Kootenai. The Ferry (Simenaketen) is about 50 miles from Antoine Plante's, making it 200 miles from Walla Walla. Mr. William Hines keeps a store at the Ferry, and a party of men from the lower Pen d'Oreille were at his store last week, to purchase provisions. It was supposed that they had struck paying mines above the mouth of the river, but they declined to give any information as to what they were doing."

John E. Smith, who freighted goods to the mines in the sixties, gives the following account of his journeys into the Kootenai district: "In 1864, I returned to Walla Walla and resumed freighting by pack mules. I freighted into Boise, Idaho; into Wild Horse Creek, in the Kootenai Country, in B. C. My route was north from Walla Walla, across

other ferry was started where Bonners Ferry is now. Charlie Kendall came from British Columbia in 1865 and started a road house where Rathdrum is now and he sold the place to a man by the name of Barnaby, a Canadian Frenchman, and he [Kendall] bought Tim Lee out. Barnaby sold to Westwood²⁶ and he surveyed the town of Rathdrum. A[t] Bonners Ferry and at Spokane Jimmy's place there were rope ferries. The ferry on the Columbia River at the mouth of Kettle River and at Simiachtine was one that had to be rowed across.

We crossed the Pend O'Reille Lake on a steamboat to what they called Cabinet Landing up by Hope, Idaho, which was across the Lake. From there we packed into Cedar Creek. When we came back the steamboat had stopped running and our pack train had to cut the way from Cabinet Landing to Simiachtine. The captain of the steamboat had promised to wait and take our pack train back across the lake, but he failed to keep his promise. We crossed the Coeur d'Alene mountains July 4, 1871, and followed the Mullan Road through the Fourth of July Canyon. We rode eighty miles in one day, on a horse which could walk five miles an hour. Seventy-five miles a day was my average ride. I could go

the Snake River; I crossed the Spokane River at Cowley's Bridge, crossed the Pend Oreille at Sinacquetene Ferry, crossed the Kootenai at Bonners Ferry, and thence on to the Wild Horse."—*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 274.

Thomas B. Beall, in his "Pioneer Reminiscences," says: "At Sinneacatine Ferry, on the Pend O'Reille, Guy Hanes in '64 had a road house. . . . At Bonners Ferry in 1864 Ed Bonner had a ferry across the Kootenay which led to the name of Bonners Ferry for the subsequent settlement of this point."—*Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 87.

See also an account of a journey through this country in 1880 by Captain James Ewart, in the *Palouse Gazette*, August 27, 1880; also, in the *North-West Tribune* of September 29, 1880, copied from the *Montana Missoulian*. In the *Spokane Times* of July 7, 1881, the name of the ferry is given as "Seniaquiteen."

Mr. James Watt, a pioneer of the Cheney district, freighted goods to the Kootenai mines in the sixties. On January 23, 1926, he gave to me the following description of the route which he followed:

"In going from Walla Walla to Kootenai we traveled over the Mullan road to the crossing of the Touchet River, the site of the present town of Prescott; thence to the Snake River, which we crossed sometimes at Silcott's or Lyons Ferry and sometimes at Texas Ferry. We struck the Mullan Road again at Rock Creek and followed it to the crossing of the Spokane River, or Herrin's Bridge, as the place was then called. This bridge was located a half-mile above the place where Colonel Wright, in 1858, corralled and slaughtered several hundred head of cattle belonging to the Indians of this region. From this point the Kootenai trail diverged, and we proceeded to the present site of Rathdrum, which in 1866 was called Conner's Ranch; thence to a ferry on Pend Oreille River, about 12 miles below the present town of Sandpoint. This ferry was called Sineaketeen. From the ferry the trail led to the site of Sandpoint and then cross to Pack River; thence to Stampede Lake, about 15 miles from Pack River; thence to Bonner's Ferry on the Kootenai River. The trail then led down the Kootenai River for 15 miles to a camping place and thence across to Moyie River, a distance of about 16 miles; thence up the north bank of the Moyie a distance of 40 miles, when it crossed this river at Peavine Prairie, near the home of Ogden Howell, a trapper. This was at Lake Moyie whence the Moyie River takes its rise. From this crossing the trail led to St. Joseph's Prairie, where the Canadian revenue officers were located; thence to the upper crossing of the Kootenai; thence five miles to Kootenai town, on Stud Horse, or Wild Horse, Creek."

²⁶ The town of Rathdrum was at first called Westwood, in honor of its pioneer citizen, Charles Wesley Wood. According to the *History of North Idaho* (Western Historical Publishing Co., 1903), p. 781, Mr. Burgunder made an error in stating the name of the founder of this town to be Westwood. On this point see also the reminiscences of T. J. Allen, compiled by William S. Lewis, in the *Spokane Sunday Spokesman-Review*, June 28, 1925.

from Colville to Walla Walla and return in seven days, which was 421 miles. I used to make 1000-mile trips.

Cedar Creek, Montana, was struck in 1870, and it was there that I met Senator Clark for the first time.²⁷

I went over to Portland in 1871 and came back to Colville in 1873 and left there in January, 1878, and went to Walla Walla. We had one store at Marcus and one at Colville and we owned what was called the Pend O'Reille Mill.²⁸ We also owned a store at Perry Creek in Kootenai country. In 1867 they built a road from Colville, and it was called the Cottonwood Road, to Spokane Prairie and intersected to Kootenai and Montana. It was used for the purpose of hauling freight out by wagons. The road was built by the business men of Colville under the supervision of John U. Hofstetter, with the assistance of an Indian guide. There were no engineers and they built a better and straighter road than they build today with engineers.²⁹ I went to Walla Walla in '78 and stayed there, and in '79 I went into partnership with Schwabacher Brothers and then I came to Colfax and have been here ever since.

In 1826 the Hudson Bay Company settled in Colville and they bought out the North Western Company and moved their place of business from the Spokane House on the Little Spokane River to Colville down near the Columbia River.³⁰ They then built the old Hudson Bay Company Mill, known as the Meyers Mill, which is on the Colville River on what they called Meyers Falls, now used by the Colville Electric Light Company. In 1863 between [This sentence is badly scrambled, but the manuscript has been followed] the treaty with the Hudson Bay Company with the United States government they claimed thirteen miles square in Colville valley and in 1872 the last payment was made by the United

²⁷ Senator W. A. Clark.

²⁸ This mill, the first American mill in the Colville Valley, was built on the Little Pend Oreille River in 1859 by B. F. Yantis. Yantis sold it in 1861 to a Canadian named Hoag, and in the following year Hoag sold it to D. H. Ferguson & Co. Ferguson sold his interest, in 1868, to his partners, Joseph Oppenheimer and Samuel Oppenheimer.—*Winans Ms.*, 27.

²⁹ "To enable the people of Colville to reach the Kootenai trail with the products of the valley, it was necessary to make a road from Cottonwood Creek, a few miles south of Chewelah, to Peone Prairie, a distance of about 60 miles through the timber. The people volunteered the labor, and the merchants, C. H. Montgomery, D. H. Ferguson & Co., and myself, donated the provisions. The road was laid out by a company, consisting of an Indian as a guide, D. H. Ferguson as commissary and John W. [U.] Hofstetter as overseer. The people by the dozens worked there during the summer and fall of 1867, and completed the road so that it has been used ever since."—*Winans Ms.*, 26.

³⁰ Mr. Bergunder was slightly confused regarding the relation of the North West Company to the Hudson's Bay Company. The two companies were united in 1821. In 1825 John Work began the construction of the Colville establishment near the Kettle Falls, but was obliged to abandon it in the autumn of that year and return to Spokane House for the winter. Spokane House was abandoned in the spring of 1826. Fort Colville became the most important trading post in the interior of what is now the State of Washington.

States to the Hudson Bay Company.³¹ Mr. Donald McDonald (son of Angus McDonald, chief trader of the Hudson Bay Company who came in 1840 and took up the Hudson Bay Post as a homestead) sold it to J. P. Graves and he sold it to the Great Northern. The Hudson Bay Mill on the Colville River was homesteaded to Meyers and they still have possession.³² The Hudson Bay Company buildings are all destroyed and there is just a brick pile left. The Frenchmen, who were all servants of the Hudson Bay Company, took up the land in the valley and raised wheat, oats and barley.

The United States post was built at Colville in 1859.³³ Colville had three stores, a brewery, three saloons. D. H. Ferguson ran one store, W. P. Winans³⁴ and L. Abrams had one and Charlie Montgomery,³⁵ formerly Smith and Company, ran the other. John U. Hofstetter³⁶ had a brewery and three miles from there was a saw-mill, a grist-mill and a still (which the government later destroyed) owned by Douglas[s].³⁷ The government built a saw-mill.³⁸ The garrison was right across the stream from the town of Colville and it occupied a mile square, now all farm lands.

31 A treaty negotiated by the United States and Great Britain in 1863 provided that a joint commission should settle the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company against the United States for property held by these companies south of the forty-ninth parallel. They had been guaranteed certain "possessory rights" in the Treaty of 1846. The award of the commission, consisting of \$650,000, was made in Washington, D. C., in September, 1869. Colville was abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1871.

32 In 1866 L. W. Meyers and George B. Wannacott leased the mill at Meyers Falls (Goudy's Mill), and soon began to manufacture patent flour. Mr. Meyers remained in possession of this property when the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned Colville in 1871, and in the following year he rebuilt the mill.—*Winans Ms.*, 29.

33 For an account of the establishment of the American Fort Colville, in 1859, see *Winans Ms.*, 17 *et seq.* This part of the *Winans Ms.* was published in the *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, III, no. 1.

34 W. P. Winans, author of the manuscript frequently cited herein.

35 Charles H. Montgomery, a native of Canada, arrived in the Colville Valley on October 12, 1859. He kept a merchandise store for several years, was for 13 years postmaster at Colville and held numerous public offices in Stevens County. He died on May 18, 1908.—*Winans Ms.*, 36, 47.

36 John U. Hofstetter went into the Colville Valley with Major Lougenbeel in 1859 and helped to establish Fort Colville. Later he engaged in the freighting business, established a brewery in one of the mining districts of British Columbia in the early sixties, and subsequently was engaged in the same business in Colville. He was also, at various times, school superintendent, sheriff, and commissioner of Stevens County. The present town of Colville occupies his homestead. He died in Colville in 1906.—*Winans Ms.*, 39, 52.

37 "The first sawmill in the country was built in 1856 and 1857 at the falls on Mill Creek, about three miles below where the United States Fort Colville was afterwards located in 1859. The money necessary was furnished by Francis Wolff, and the work of building by R. H. Douglass and John Nelson. . . . The partners in the sawmill did not work in harmony, there was some litigation. Mr. Douglass claimed the water right and froze the others out. He afterwards, about 1860 or 1861, built a flour mill adjoining the sawmill. The power being buckets on a fifty-foot endless chain over a three-foot pulley. He called the mill 'Love Defeat.' He also built at the foot of the falls a distillery, and generously sampled its product."—*Winona Ms.*, 28.

38 When Major Pinkney Lougenbeel, in 1859, undertook to build Fort Colville he endeavored to make a contract with the owners of the Douglass sawmill for lumber, offering \$20 per 1,000 feet, for rental of the mill, he to furnish the logs and labor. "The Douglass & Company, no doubt thinking their opportunity had arrived, asked \$40.00. The result was that the Major built a dam about half a mile above the Fort, put in a sawmill, cut what lumber the Post required and afterwards leased the mill, and the settlers were thus able to buy lumber at \$10.00 per 1,000 feet."—*Winans Ms.*, 17. A settlement which grew up near the fort was at first called Pinkney City, but later Colville.

Wheat was ground into flour and the flour was shipped out and they fed the rest to the hogs. There was about 20,000 [bushels?] raised including oats, barley, etc. To harvest it they cut it with cradle and tramped it out. The mower and the reaper came in the latter 60's. Wheat was the best seller. The Indians raised a little wheat and packed it in on horses to the mill. In later years, in the 70's, a man by the name of John Chapman worked for us and we discharged him and he started a mill at Addy but he didn't make much. He is an uncle of Dr. Chapman³⁹ of Colfax. This was a great hay country and it is the prettiest valley in the State of Washington.

Stock Raising

Oppenheimer & Co. in the latter 60's bought two Berkshire pigs and he [sic] paid \$150 and also a brood sow for which they paid \$150, and these were the first thoroughbred pigs this side of Portland. They had nothing but wild razor-backs in there before. Later on they bought a pair of Chester white pigs and hauled them from Wallula in wagons to Colville. These pigs were purchased in Portland. On the way up there some of the *honest* ranchers took the Chester white pigs out of the pen and put in a pair of razor-backs. The Hudson Bay Company, Angus McDonald in the early days, in 1850 bought some Durham cattle up in the Flathead country which had originally come into Montana from the East. These were the first thoroughbred cattle north of Snake River. There were a few sheep, and John Hofstetter had the first sheep in the country. We killed hogs and cured meat and shipped it to the mines and to Portland, Oregon, and the cattle we bought from the farmers in the valley and drove them to the Kootenai country. We made two trips a year and sold to the butcher. We made one drive to The Dalles of 500 head. Charlie Montgomery made one drive to Montana in 1871. We received \$40 a head for the steers and the age made no difference.

Money

The money that was used was principally gold dust. The soldiers had the only green-backs that were in use. They weighed the gold dust out on gold scales. The gold on the Columbia River was worth \$16.00 an ounce. The Rock Creek, which was coarse, was worth \$16 an ounce. The French Creek and McCullough

³⁹ Dr. George A. Chapman, a dentist of Colfax.

Creek gold was worth \$18.00 an ounce. Perry Creek and Wild Horse Creek gold was worth \$18.00 an ounce.⁴⁰ The Caribou gold was worth \$16.00 an ounce. Montana gold was worth from \$16.00 to \$18.00 an ounce. The gold was priced by dollars, and everything was in gold prices. In the early days goods came from Portland by steamboat to the lower Cascades, portage from the lower to the upper Cascades, and then from the upper Cascades it was shipped in a boat to The Dalles. It was sent from The Dalles to Celilo [Celilo] in wagons and on boats to Wallula, and in high water in boats to Lewiston, but from Wallula to Walla Walla it was sent in wagons and from there they packed it to the mines in wagons and pack trains and in later years, in 1863, they built a railroad.⁴¹ It was the first railroad in the country from The Dalles to Celilo [Celilo]. In later years they built a railroad around the Cascade portage. They ran one boat (Colonel Wright),⁴² which was the first boat, from Celilo [Celilo] to Wallula and to Lewiston. Captain Leonard White was the first steamboat captain on the upper Columbia.

Navigation of Columbia

Ran a boat in high water as far up as Priest Rapids.⁴³ The "Steamboat 49" was built at Marcus by Leonard White (Captain), Westley Briggs (Purser), Wash Eldridge (Engineer), Al Pinkston (Mate), and Jim Costello was the ship carpenter. The steamboat was launched in the fall of 1865 and it made its trial trip in November, 1865, and it made its first trip on the Columbia in April, 1866.⁴⁴ They started from Marcus and then started from

40 "The [Kootenai] gold was of the best grade, worth \$18 per ounce."—Trumble, *op. cit.*, 57.

41 "The Railroad of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company at the Cascades is completed. The first load of freight and passengers was brought over the road the 20th instant. The Dalles and Celilo road is also completed, and freight and passengers are now being brought over it."—*Washington Statesman*, April 25, 1863. See G. H. Atkinson's account of his trip to Florence in 1862.—*Oregon Argus*, August 16 and 23, 1862. It will be noted that Mr. Burgunder's statement in reference to these railroads is not entirely accurate.

42 See T. C. Elliott, "The Dalles-Celilo Portage: Its Influence and History," in the *Quart. Ore. Hist. Soc.*, XVI, 133 et seq., and Lulu D. Crandell, "The 'Colonel Wright'," *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 126.

43 "The steamer Cascadella went up to Priest Rapids this week, with a cargo of goods for the Columbia river mines. We believe it is the intention of the company to run her regularly hereafter to that point."—*Washington Statesman*, June 6, 1863.

"The steamers of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company's line will hereafter make irregular trips from Wallula to Priest Rapids, touching at the new gold mines at White Bluffs. Due notice of the departure of the steamers will be given by the agent, at Wallula."—*Washington Statesman*, August 8, 1863.

44 One encounters numerous references to the steamer *Forty-Nine*, some of which are contradictory. Perhaps the most satisfactory contemporaneous notice of the building of this vessel is to be found in the *Walla Walla Statesman* of May 4, 1866: "The steamer 'Forty-nine,' plying on the Columbia River between Little Dalles, W. T., and Death Rapids, B. C., Capt. L. White, commanding, has made her first trip. She left Little Dalles on the 15th of April, and arrived at Death Rapids, on the 24th—a distance of nearly 300 miles. She had a large number of passengers en route for the Columbia mines. The trip was not a pleasant one, as it was storming nearly all the time, besides they had to

Little Dalles below Northport and ran up to LaPort[e], B. C. The machinery for the boat was furnished by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and was taken from the "Jennie Clark" and hauled from Wallula to Marcus by ox-team.⁴⁵ The lumber for the boat was cut at the Douglas[s] Mill on Mill Creek. Another boat was built in the early 80's at the time when the Canadian Pacific was being built. Mr. Oppenheimer had the contract and they built a steamboat. Captain Sanborn was in partnership with Oppenheimer to haul supplies from there up to the Canadian Pacific Railroad at Revelstoke, B. C. They put the steamboats on the upper Columbia.

In 1863, after the Boise excitement, the town of Umatilla was started. The steamboats used to land at that place. All goods going to Boise and the Owyhee from Portland and San Francisco was landed at Umatilla.⁴⁶ The goods was packed on from there. We also used to pack our money because the express was so high that we would rather take a chance on highway robbers. We carried gold dust principally and we carried it on the horn of the saddle. We rode to Walla Walla and took the stage to Wallula

break through 12 miles of ice. The snow on the River banks ranged from 2 to 4 feet in depth. Only two persons had come in from the other side this spring; both of them had their feet badly frozen. They report that the trail cannot be traveled with safety for over a month yet. Nearly 300 miners wintered in the mines. Several more creeks have been discovered that give promise of great richness. The steamer made her return trip in 26 running hours. The road from Coleville to Little Dalles is in good order. The steamer was to start on her second trip, Monday, April 30th."

Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 533, tells virtually the same story of the *Forty-Nine*, as does also Winans in his diary. According to Winans, 7, "The first steamboat for the Upper Columbia River was built where the town of Marcus now stands by Captain Lew [Len] White, Miss Christine McDonald and Miss Mary L. Brown driving the first nails. It was launched November 18, 1865. Its officers: Captain Lew [Len] White, Purser Wesley Briggs, Mate A. C. Pingstone, Engineer Wash Eldridge. Made its first trip about April, 1866. It was named 'Forty-Nine' in commemoration of its route from Kettle Falls north across the 49th parallel to the head of navigation."

The Walla Walla *Statesman* of May 18, 1866, published a letter from a correspondent who was a passenger on the first trip made by this steamer. This correspondent said: "The steamer has proved a perfect success; she found no obstacles that she did not readily overcome. . . . On the first trip she took 15 tons freight and 75 passengers. The trip was made in 9 days up and 26 hours down—cutting her own wood."

Judge J. E. Wyche, upon his return to Walla Walla from holding a term of court at Colville, told the editor of the *Statesman* that he had had "an interesting talk with Capt. White, the pioneer Capt. on the upper Columbia. It is about 270 miles from the Little Dalles by steamer to Laporte or Death Rapids, the upper point of navigation, and which is only some 15 miles from French Creek, in the Big Bend mines. Passengers are carried for \$25, and freight at 10 cents per pound, and each passenger is allowed 50 pounds of baggage without charge. . . . An effort is being made to establish a competing route by Victoria and Yale and up the Shuswap Lake some 130 miles, thence about 50 miles over the Selkirk range of mountains to Laporte. . . . As the routes of travel are now established, the best way to reach the Big Bend mines is by the Columbia from Portland to Wallula; thence to Colville; thence to the Little Dalles, and thence by Capt. White's steamer to Laporte, which is only about 15 miles from the mines."—Walla Walla *Statesman*, June 1, 1866.

Additional references to the *Forty-Nine* and its relation to the Upper Columbia River mines are as follows: Walla Walla *Statesman*, December 8, 1865; May 25, August, 10, 1866; *Puget Sound Weekly* (Seattle), November 5, 1866; F. W. Perkins, in the *Palouse Gazette*, August 9, 1878; *History of North Washington*, 152; Caroline C. Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound*. . . . chap. iv; special correspondence to the *Portland Oregonian*, May 28, 1883; A. J. Splawn, *Ka-mi-a-kin*, 228; Lieut. Symons, *op. cit.*, 12; "Narrative of Benjamin MacDonald," in the *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, 190, 191; Trimble, *op. cit.*, 27.

45 See Trimble, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

46 This is apparently an overstatement. See the next note.

and then took a boat to The Dalles and stayed all night there and took a boat to Portland. On the way down I stopped at Walla Walla and my friend, Schwabacher, gave me a sack of gold dust to take to Portland, and at Wallula Mr. Gatzart and Company gave me another sack of gold dust and when I got to The Dalles Block, Miller & Company gave me another sack, and by the time I was ready to leave my canteen was full and I had about 100 pounds or more. In traveling in the early days we met brother merchants, probably some men that we had never met before or would [n]ever meet again, and let them keep your gold dust and we kept theirs while going to dinner. I was never held up but was once followed, but the fellow never held me up. I always carried a six-shooter revolver and because I rode the fastest and best horse on the road I could kiss them all goodbye.

Horses

The horses in the valley were mostly cayuses, but early in 1860 a man by the name of Morgeau brought in a good stallion and in 1870 Charles Montgomery bought a half-breed Perchion [Percheron] from Walla Walla. Antoine Paradise brought a White Stocking, over sixteen hands high, which was a draft and a trotter. We brought some American mares from Oregon and sold them to farmers. Some cayuses and stallions were bred up. The only mules in the country were the ones in our teams in the early days, and we had about fourteen. The government bought the mules that we brought across the plains. The pack horses were cayuses and we packed these with pack saddles but we packed the mules with aparhoes [aparejos]. The pack mules came from Mexico and they averaged about 400 pounds to a load. A cayuse packed about 300 pounds. Most of the packing into the mines was done by cayuses or mules. Out of Walla Walla mostly mules were used for packing to the mines. Sometimes they hauled from Walla Walla to Simiachtine with wagons and they were met there and packed the rest of the way. From Walla Walla to Colville, freight, provisions, etc., were hauled in wagons. Spokane Bridge, Lewiston, Simiachtine, and the steamboat landing on the Pend O'Reille were the main distributing points for the pack trains. From these points they packed to the mines with pack trains, and they used mostly mules, but they also used some horses and wagons. The wagons hauled 6500 pounds. Some of the wagons with four horses would only haul about 3500 pounds. Out of the Umatilla country they hauled to Boise with prairie

schooners.⁴⁷ These prairie schooners had a bed six feet high and hauled about 10,000 pounds with a trail wagon and eight or ten head of oxen. One freighter used five span of horses. He was called "Whispering Thompson" because he could be heard a mile off hollering at his horses or mules. Packers packed out of Walla Walla and they bought whole cargoes and take [took] them to Montana and charge[d] for the cargo in addition to the freight. They also traded as well as freighted. They ran pack trains with from forty to sixty mules. Henry Hewitt and John Bartlett (Hank and Yank) were big packers and they had sixty packs. Patsy McGraw, Martin Collins, James M. Kennedy, Frank Lowden, Don Hayes, H. H. Spalding, John O'Neil, Adam McNeeley, Freer Brothers (ran cayuse train) packed out of Lewiston to Florence and Elk City. Andrew Evans freighted with ox teams in Walla Walla. Ball and Stone had big ox teams and freighted from Walla Walla to Boise, Idaho.⁴⁸ These freighters hardly ever lost any animals. They used iron axle wagons.

There were lots of Chinamen in this part of the country. In 1865 from 1000 to 1500 immigrated to the Columbia River from British Columbia and scattered from Marcus down to the Snake River. All of the Chinamen walked. There was a \$3000 claim at the mouth of the Pend O'Reille and a \$5000 claim at Daisy. These claims were sold by white men to the Chinamen. They worked with sluices at the mouth of the Pend O'Reille and at Daisy and the others worked rockers along the banks of the river. These bars are all now orchards. Quite a crowd in 1865 and they came to Marcus and then scattered out. They used to mine at Rock

47 There was considerable freighting from Walla Walla to Boise. The rivalry between Umatilla and Walla Walla as shipping points to Boise Basin was perhaps as great as was the rivalry at one time among White Bluffs, Wallula, and Walla Walla as the most suitable outfitting point for freighters destined for the Big Bend, the Kootenai, and the Montana mines. See the *Walla Walla Statesman*, April 6, 27, and July 27, 1866.

The *Statesman* of December 19, 1863, printed the following paragraph: "Several teams have left the city this week for Boise. Four ox teams freighted with goods left on Wednesday, going by way of the new road." There also appeared in the issue of May 27, 1864, the following: "Ball & Russel's train of ox-teams consisting of 16 teams and 250 oxen, left the fore part of this week for Boise. They were freighted with the quartz mill for the Ainsworth company at Owyhee, and oats for the U. S. military post at Fort Boise—from 90,000 to 100,000 lbs. in all."

48 Some account of the freighters who lived in the Walla Walla Valley in 1866 is given in the *Walla Walla Statesman* of April 6 of that year: "We, the undersigned teamsters and freighters, living in Walla Walla valley, and being engaged in the transportation of goods from the Columbia River, inland, beg leave to present the following facts, to all those who are interested, that we prefer freighting from Wallula to Blackfoot, Boise and Colville, than from any other point on the Columbia River—W. A. Ball, John O'Donald, J. W. Harbert, Richard Farrell, John S. Cairns, D. M. Grow, Charles Russell, Baldwin & Whitman, W. Bernding, J. C. Calls, E. T. Lowe, Milton Evans, J. W. Morrison, T. B. Williams, G. A. Evans, A. L. Jones, John Dunn, P. M. Lynch, S. Clayton, C. Jacobs & Co., W. M. Ewing, Geo. F. Thomas, Henry L. Boyle, S. Linkton."

Creek, B. C. These were the principal Chinese on the Columbia.⁴⁹ Some Chinese cooked but most of them mined. In 1865 the state put a tax of \$6.00 a year on each Chinaman.⁵⁰

I came to Colfax in 1879.⁵¹ We shipped the first oats in 1881 to California and we hauled it to Almota in wagons and shipped it to San Francisco by boats. I was in the mercantile business but we handled grain. We shipped the first load of wheat East. We sold it to the Pacific Elevator Company and they took it back for exhibition and for seed to the Dakotas in 1884. It was shipped on the Northern Pacific, now the O. W.⁵² Paid ½c a pound for oats and 60c a bushel for wheat. When I got to Colfax in 1879 there were the following stores: Bob Ewart's General Merchandise Store, E. M. Downen⁵³ Merchandise, Lippett [Lippitt] Brothers Merchandise Store, Burgunder and Schwabacher Merchandise Store, Livingston[e]⁵⁴ and Kuhn Hardware Store,

49 For several years the Chinese, following in the steps of the white men, worked as gleaners in the gold fields. In the decade of the seventies, and even early in the eighties, they were washing the bars of the Columbia and the Snake Rivers for gold. The following newspaper stories tell briefly of their advent in the Kootenai region:

"The expressman informs us that this season will about let the white men out of the Kootenai mines. The majority of the miners have already sold their claims to Chinamen, and with another year the 'Johns' will hold undisputed sway in the Kootenai country."—*Walla Walla Statesman*, September 21, 1866.

The *Puget Sound Weekly* of October 1, 1866, reprinted from the *Colonist and Chronicle* the following story: "Mr. H. Stewart, who has just arrived from the Kootenay mines, has furnished the following items of news: He left Kootenay on the 2d inst. He reports 350 Chinamen and 100 white men at work in the mines—generally doing well. The white men are selling out and leaving camp as fast as possible."

Further references on the Chinese in the gold fields of the Inland Empire are: Symons, *op. cit.*, 27-28; *Spokane Times*, July 10, 24, 1879; *Oregonian*, September 26, 1879; *Spokane Times*, May 15, 1880; *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, November 25, 1886.

50 The Washington Legislative Assembly passed on January 23, 1864, an act levying a quarterly capitation tax of \$6 on each Chinese, male and female, of the age of 18 years and upwards. This was to be known as the Chinese police tax. On January 20, 1865, by legislative enactment, the sheriff of Stevens County was authorized to pursue Chinese into other counties of the territory for the purpose of collecting this tax. On January 17, 1866, the law of January 23, 1864, was amended, and the Chinese police tax was made an annual tax of \$16 per capita, and in the following year this tax was reduced in Stevens, Jefferson, Snohomish, Island and Kitsap Counties from \$16 to \$6 per capita. See the *Laws of Washington Territory*, 1863-64, p. 56; 1864-65, p. 28; 1865-66, pp. 115 *et seq.*; 1866-67, p. 143.

It was provided in the act of 1864 that the collector of the Chinese police tax should receive for his compensation one-fourth of the tax collected. Regarding the difficulties encountered in the collection of such taxes, see the "Reminiscences of Joseph H. Boyd," in the *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, XV, 259, and *Winans Ms.*, 10, 11.

51 Mr. Burgunder associated himself in business in Colfax with William H. Bishop in the autumn of 1879. In the following spring Mr. Bishop withdrew from the firm, and Burgunder thereupon "formed a co-partnership with the old and solid firm of Schwabacher Bros."—*Palouse Gazette*, October 10, 17, 1879; April 9, May 7, 1880.

52 Colfax celebrated the arrival of the railroad on November 10, 1883. The *Palouse Gazette* of November 16, 1883, stated that November 10 "was an important day in the history of Colfax, for it was then that the first train of the Columbia & Palouse Railroad company steamed within our limits." The mayors of Portland and Colfax congratulated each other by telegraph on the completion of the railroad to Colfax. On the day following the completion of the track, "Everybody and his family were out . . . for a walk to the end of the track."

Goods began at once to come into and go out of Colfax on this line. Said the *Palouse Gazette* of November 16, 1883: "Yesterday Knapp, Burrell & Co. received the first freight on the new road to Colfax. It consisted of a car load of wagons and a car load of bob sleds. Lippitt Bros. made the first down shipment, which consisted of four car loads of wheat."

53 Should read E. M. Downing. Mr. Downing subsequently became a pioneer merchant of Spangle, Wash.

54 For appreciations of Livingstone see *Colfax Gazette*, January 8, 15, 1926.

R. J. Wilson Hardware Store, and Mrs. Ewart, Captain Ewart's wife, ran the Ewart House and Mr. Baldwin ran the Baldwin House and there were two restaurants, four saloons, two blacksmith shops, Chinese laundry, brewery, two sawmills, flour mill, Baptist, Congregational and Methodist churches.⁵⁵ The Baptist school was in the church and the teacher was Miss L. L. West.⁵⁶ There was also a public school which was started about 1878.⁵⁷ There was in addition to those mentioned two harness shops. The principal trade came from the country. The land office was here and E. N. Sweet and Gov. James were in charge.⁵⁸ The lawyers here were Jake Hoover, James V. O'Dell,⁵⁹ and P. C. Sullivan.⁶⁰ For the big cases lawyers were always gotten from Walla Walla.

We hauled by team to Almota and shipped to Portland by steamboat. From Moscow they hauled to Wawawai.⁶¹ W. J. Hamilton⁶² hauled wheat to Spokane and sold it to Post's Mill there. Wheat, oats and barley were the grain shipped. The first barley shipped East was shipped for brewing purposes. There was no flax raised around Colfax; however, some was raised around Uniontown, Colton and Moscow.⁶³ The grains principally raised around here were wheat, oats and barley. When I was here in 1877 there was no land broken between Farmington and Colfax. There was one ranch at Farmington but most of the land broken was in Idaho (2½ miles east of Farmington). A man by the name of Davenport⁶⁴ had a ranch which he sold to a man from Walla Walla. A man named Campbell had a ranch, too, which was later owned by a man named McCann. They were a fine family and it was nice land. The Rosalia country was settled by a man by the

55 This is not a complete list of the business firms. See the *Palouse Gazette* of January 3, 1879. Business changed hands rapidly in these years, however, and the business directory of one month might be hopelessly obsolete the next.

56 This was the Colfax Academy and Business Institute, opened in September, 1878, with Miss Leoti L. West as principal.

57 The public school in Colfax was started somewhat earlier than this. See the *Palouse Gazette*, November 3, 1877.

58 See the *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, 257.

59 James V. O'Dell represented Whitman County in the Constitutional Convention of 1878.

60 P. C. Sullivan, a pioneer lawyer of Colfax, who is described by Mrs. Ivan Chase, a pioneer of the Palouse country, as "an ornament to his profession." He fell dead in the court room in Colfax as he was making an eloquent plea in defense of a young man who had been charged with the crime of murder. W. C. Jones of Spokane, who was in court in Colfax when this happened, also speaks highly of the character of Mr. Sullivan.

61 Almota, Wawawai, and Penawawa, ferry towns on the Snake River, were for many years shipping points for a large country lying to the north of Snake River. With the coming of the railroads these places soon fell upon evil days and are today of no consequence.

62 W. J. Hamilton died in Colfax on October 31, 1925.

63 Earlier in the decade of the seventies some flax was raised in the country east of Colfax. I have heard my grandfather, James H. Stevenson, who arrived in Whitman County in 1873, tell of raising flax on his homestead nine miles east of Colfax and hauling it to Almota for shipment.

64 Probably L. W. Davenport, an early settler in this region.—F. T. Gilbert, *Historic Sketches*, p. 444.

name of Whitman⁶⁵ who had a store, a mail station and a road-house. The first time I met him was in 1878. When we came through this country in '77 there was a settlement up in Uniontown and there was a family by the name of Rudy and there were a few houses around Uniontown. We came in by Four Mile and a few settlers had just gotten there. When we got to Moscow the Llewellyns⁶⁶ were there and some men by the names of Northrup and Taylor had farms in the Hog Heaven country. Further this way a man by the name of Howard had a farm and after that we didn't strike anything until we came near Palouse City and from Palouse City we went to Farmington. At Palouse there was a grist mill, a saw mill and a store.⁶⁷ There was a farm in this locality owned by a man by the name of Smith. From there we went to Farmington and struck Campbell's house 2½ miles away on Pine Creek. After we left Farmington we went to Latah, which was then called Copeland.⁶⁸ There we crossed Hangman Creek and went over to Major Wimpey.⁶⁹ The father and son lived about two miles apart. After that we didn't strike any more farms. From there we crossed the trail and came out where Spangle is now and found some farms. We then went to Moran Prairie where Joe Moran lived. The old Jackson place is now the Browne place. From there went to Spokane Falls. We came back the same way.

There was no way of shipping cattle out. In the fall and winter of 1877-78, Lang and Ryan drove out 20,000 head and paid \$10.00 a head. Lang and Ryan bought all the cattle in the Snake River country and in Eastern Oregon and in the Walla Walla country. They drove the cattle back to the Iowa feeding yards over the Oregon Trail.⁷⁰ It took them two years to drive them

65 A traveler in the Palouse country in the summer of 1880 wrote to the editor of the *Palouse Gazette* as follows: "Here [Rosalia] we find a postoffice and one of the best selected country stocks of merchandise to be found on the road, kept by Mr. J. M. Whitman, who is also the postmaster. Mr. Whitman opened his store about one year ago, since which time he has been doing a thriving business and will soon enlarge to accommodate his rapidly increasing trade."—*Palouse Gazette*, June 4, 1880.

66 Almon A. Llewallen settled near the present site of Moscow in 1871, homesteaded the site of Moscow in 1875, and in 1881 platted the townsite. He was born in Tennessee on September 10, 1842, and died in Moscow on November 4, 1898.—*History of North Idaho*, p. 635.

67 In September, 1877, Palouse City was somewhat larger.—*Palouse Gazette*, September 29, 1877.

68 For some account of the founding of Latah see Edwards, *History of Spokane County*, p. 277.

69 Major R. H. Wimpey, a veteran of the Civil War, settled on Hangman Creek in 1872. His home was a favorite stopping place for travelers. See Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 338; *Palouse Gazette*, April 6, October 25, 1878.

70 "The agents of Lang & Ryan, cattle dealers, are now in the Yakima and Kittitas valleys purchasing an immense drove of cattle, which they intend to drive to St. Louis early in the spring. They expect to start with fifteen or perhaps twenty thousand head. Last year they purchased about one-fourth that number for the same market. The effect of this drain will be in a few seasons hence to make beef cattle extremely scarce."—*Washington Standard* (Olympia), January 12, 1878. According to this newspaper of Janu-

back because they stopped the first winter at Cheyenne and then went on from there.⁷¹ They sold 1000 head of cows to McCoy and Freeman⁷² at \$10.00 a head and McCoy sold a 100 head to McNeeley at the same price. The cattle sold were bought for ranch purposes. McCoy and Freeman ran the cattle across the Snake River and into the Eastern part of Whitman County. Adam McNeeley lived on Crab Creek. The largest cattle owners were Lewis Niece⁷³ at Waitsburg and Jim Kennedy at Cow Creek.⁷⁴ Dooley and Kirkland⁷⁵ had big herds of cattle and they ran a butcher shop in Walla Walla. Pat Komosky had some cattle at Colville Lake in 1870. He settled here in 1869.⁷⁶ Thomas Turner lived down near Pampa and had a herd of cattle. This was in 1870-80. The Hooper boys who lived at Hooper had sheep and so did the Cox's (Lewis and Phillip). They sold the sheep in Montana. The building of railroads in this country brought the raising of wheat.⁷⁷

Coyotes were the only wild animals in this country. There

ary 26, 1878, Lang & Ryan bought 12,000 head of cattle. "At an average cost of \$13 per head, this would give a total of \$156,000 disbursed by them since the first of October."

71 "A Walla Walla exchange says: 'The drove of 4,000 cattle, bought in this country by Rand, Briggs & Co., has been started for Cheyenne. They are a fine lot of cattle. Some of their drivers came out by stage from Cheyenne, where they are called "cowboys." These cattle will reach the Chicago market next year by rail, after being fed one season in Wyoming Territory'."—*Spokane Times*, June 19, 1879.

72 "Mr. Jos. Freeman informs us that he has 1100 head of cattle running on the north side of Snake River, between the Palouse and the Columbia. They have wintered there thus far without being fed. They are in fine condition and not one has died. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other cattle in that country that are doing equally well. There has not been an inch of snow during the winter. That certainly can be called the champion stock country. Mr. F. says he has hundreds of head of steers that are in fine condition for beef; and he will have from three to four hundred head of calves this spring. So far as we have heard, he is the heaviest stock raiser in this territory."—*Walla Walla Union*, July 25, 1873.

73 Lewis Niece.

74 "A meeting of stock raisers was held on Cow creek, in this county, on Oct. 15, 1879, and an association of stock men formed. James M. Kennedy was chosen foreman and Thos. McManamon, secretary. The association will meet again at the Three Spring Bar, on Snake River, on April 1st, 1880, at which time and place all persons owning stock are invited to attend a general rodeo."—*Palouse Gazette*, January 6, 1880.

75 Dooley and Kirkman.

76 Komosky (or perhaps Komosky) was also interested here as late as 1872. See *Walla Walla Union* of February 17, 1872. According to this newspaper, there were "some 15 or 20 people wintering" at Colville Lake or Big Lake in 1871-72. In December, 1871, it was reported that the thermometer was as low as 33 degrees below zero at this place, but most of the people "were well provided with hay and the stock did well."

77 In the decade of the sixties many bands of cattle were driven through Eastern Washington to the mines in British Columbia, as well as to the mines in Idaho and Montana. Toward the close of May, 1864, a small drove of cattle passed through Walla Walla "en route to the Kootenai mines."—*Washington Statesman*, June 3, 1864. In August, 1866, a correspondent of the *Statesman* observed a band of 650 head of cattle passing through Wallula for Cariboo. This band had been driven from California. The owners of this band, he stated, had been engaged in driving cattle to British Columbia since 1860 and each year drove into that country from 600 to 1,000 head.—*Walla Walla Statesman*, August 17, 1866. No satisfactory account of the cattle industry in these years has, so far as I am aware, been written, although considerable material on this subject is available in the territorial newspapers. See *Walla Walla Union*, April 22, 1871; June 9, 1877; *Palouse Gazette*, February 9, April 27, May 11, 1878; *An Illustrated History of Kootenai, Yakima and Kittitas Counties*, p. 178; *North Pacific Coast* (New Tacoma), May 16, 1881; *Report on the Productions of Agriculture: Tenth Census* (1880), *passim*; A. J. Splawn, *Ka-mi-a-kin, passim*; *Drumheller Recollections*.

were some deer up on the Palouse River, between Palouse and St. Maries.

Supplies were bought in Portland and San Francisco and were shipped up the river in high water to Almota and freighted up, but in low water they were shipped to Walla Walla and from there they were freighted up here in wagons. Prunes weren't popular and couldn't be given away. All the fruits were shipped in. The peaches and pears came from California, the apples from Oregon, prunes from Oregon, and the apricots were from California. Bayo beans (big brown beans) and dried fruits were the mainstay of the people. Dried apples and peaches were the principal dried fruits. The syrup came in five gallon kegs. In later years Scully syrup used to be shipped in from Chicago. The honey was shipped in from California. Oranges were shipped in once in a while from California and these were considered a treat. Some of the apples used came from Walla Walla and we used to go down there in the fall of the year to get them. Cod fish was the only dried fish used. We raised vegetables around here and the stores bought the valley produce. The women all made their own clothing for at that time there were no ready-to-wear clothes for women.

Amusements

Some barn storm theatrical troupes came to town. They also had dances in a hall owned by Oliver Hall and this was the only hall in town.⁷⁸ The Indians used to have horse races in the street. The Methodists used to have church camp meetings out at Four Mile.

⁷⁸ For some account of the amusements in pioneer days see the *Palouse Gazette*, January 3, 10, 17, 1879. A graphic description of social activities in Colfax in the pioneer days is contained in a manuscript written by Mrs. Ivan Chase. This manuscript, of which I have a copy, is entitled "Pioneer Days in Colfax." Dancing, theatricals, skating and sleighing helped to while away the long winter months, and an occasional journey to the home of "Cashup" Davis, who kept a roadhouse near Steptoe Butte, was looked forward to with great eagerness. See Mrs. Chase's short biography of "Cashup" Davis in the *Spokane Sunday Spokesman-Review*, December 24, 1922.

HISTORY OF THE SEATTLE GENERAL POSTOFFICE

Arthur A. Denny who was appointed Postmaster of Seattle on August 27th, 1853, received the first United States Mail ever delivered in Seattle and opened the office in a log cabin where Hotel Stevens now stands. This log cabin Postoffice was built in the winter of 1852-1853.*

In 1879, the Postoffice was in a little three cornered room, situated on Mill Street (now Yesler Way) a few doors above what is now Post Street. It had but recently been made a Presidential office of the third class. O. J. Carr was Postmaster and had but one clerk to assist him, who was paid the munificent salary of three hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$325.) a year. The Postoffice was a way station on the new Tacoma-Port Townsend route, over which the mail was carried six times a week. The Seattle-Sehome mail steamer made one trip over the whole route, leaving Seattle on Monday, arriving at Sehome on Tuesday evening, and reaching Seattle Thursday evening on the return trip, and an additional trip to La Conner used up the remainder of the week. Mails for the Snohomish Valley were exchanged at Mukilteo and for the Stilaguamish and Skagit Valleys at Tulalip. Mails were dispatched daily, except Sundays, to Renton and New-castle via the Seattle and Walla Walla railroad, to Port Blakely by the Steamer *Success*, and twice a week up the White River Valley on horseback. Mails from the Eastern States came via San Francisco to Portland by steamer, from Portland to New Tacoma by rail, and from New Tacoma to Seattle by the New Tacoma and Port Townsend steamboat. At that time mails from the East were in transit between New York and Seattle as long as they now are between Shanghai, China, and Seattle, and the arrivals from China will average as frequent.

In August, 1880, the Postoffice was moved to the corner of Mill Street and the alley now Post Street.

* For the period from 1853 to 1879, which has been omitted in this article, consult Welford Beaton's *The City That Made Itself*, pages 170-172, and Thomas W. Prosch's unpublished *Chronological History of Seattle*, Volume 1. From these sources it is learned that the following postmasters filled the gap from Denny to Carr:

W. J. Wright.....	Appointed October 11, 1853
Charles Plummer.....	Appointed May 4, 1854
Timothy D. Hinckley.....	Appointed November 14, 1861
Samuel F. Coombs.....	March 25, 1862
Gardner Kellogg.....	Appointed 1863
W. H. Pumphrey.....	Appointed 1870
Thomas W. Prosch.....	Appointed July 18, 1875
Ossian J. Carr.....	Appointed June 25, 1877

—C.W.S.

Mr. Carr was reappointed Postmaster and served until 1887. During this period the receipts of the office had grown to sixteen thousand dollars a year. The office had been raised to the second class and three additional clerks had been allowed. The improvement in handling mails consisted in the establishing of the through registered pouch exchanged between Seattle, Portland, and Port Townsend.

J. M. Lyon was appointed Postmaster in 1887. The receipts of the office continued to increase so that in the fall of 1887 free delivery was established with four letter carriers. Soon after this the office was moved to the corner of Second Avenue and Columbia Street in the new Boston Block, in the location now occupied by the Seattle National Bank. This large brick building was at that time considered to be entirely outside of the business district of the city and the newspapers of the day protested in long editorials. The officials at Washington, however, had entered into a lease with the owners of the Boston Block, and the office was moved, and, as there was no opposition office started, the people came up to Second Avenue to do business. While Mr. Lyon was postmaster, the revenue of the office increased to forty-six thousand dollars (\$46,000.) a year, and the office was raised to the first class, with twelve clerks at an annual salary of seventy-seven hundred dollars, or six hundred and forty-one dollars and sixty-seven cents each, and ten carriers, who received sixty-five hundred dollars a year or six hundred and fifty dollars each.

In 1889, Mr. A. M. Brookes was appointed Postmaster. He came into the position as an old Postoffice employee, having served as Clerk in the San Francisco Postoffice for twelve years. During his two years of service, Mr. Brookes devoted himself to the betterment of the service of the rapidly growing city. The great fire of 1889 burned the entire business district, excepting the Boston and Colonial Blocks, though both of these buildings were damaged by the fire, the front windows of the Postoffice being broken by the heat. The contents of the office were loaded into wagons, but it did not become necessary to drive away from the entrance on the Columbia street side. The Boston Block has since been replaced by the Seattle National Bank building. Immediately after the fire a building was erected just across Columbia Street for the exclusive use of the Postoffice, and the office moved still farther from the business center. It was during Mr. Brookes' incumbency that mail service was established between Seattle and

Victoria, B. C., direct, and Seattle first became a Canadian exchange office. Up to this time registered mail for Victoria originating in Seattle and vicinity was sent to Port Townsend for dispatch, and registered mail originating farther south was sent to Portland for dispatch in a through registered pouch made up in that office. After proper representation had been made to the Postoffice Department, it was ordered that the pouch should be made up at Seattle.

The exchange of money order business between the United States and British Columbia was, at this time, also carried on through the Postoffice at Portland, Oregon. It was a matter of considerable correspondence with the Postoffice Department to convince the officials that this business should be done through Seattle, but they finally were convinced and Seattle was raised to the dignity of a Canadian Money Order Exchange Office, doing both registry and money order business.

When the office was turned over to Griffith Davies as Postmaster in 1891, the gross receipts had increased to ninety-eight thousand dollars (\$98,000.) a year, with a corresponding increase in the carrier and clerical force.

During Mr. Davies' term of office hard times came on and there was little to be done in the way of advancement. Though the gross receipts of the office ran over the one hundred thousand dollar (\$100,000.) limit, still, at the end of his term in 1895, they had fallen to eighty-four thousand, with only an increase of two in the carrier force, making twenty-two carriers in all.

General Gilbert S. Meem was next in charge and the hard times continued. For a year longer the gross receipts declined, but finally confidence was restored, the "Seattle Spirit stalked forth, and the city took a forward movement. More help was allowed and the office became too small to accommodate the ever growing business. Accordingly General Meem found it necessary to ask the Postoffice Department to allow some substations. Three such stations were allowed on the first of July, 1898, and three additional ones on November fifteenth of the same year. General Meem established the first delivery of mail by electric car service in Seattle. This service was put on the Green Lake line, the University lines, the South Park line and the Rainier Avenue line as far as Dunlap.

It was also during this administration that direct mail service was established between Seattle and the Orient, on the Nippon Yusen Kaisha line of steamers, the first regular line to ply be-

tween this port and Japan and China. This was another step forward for the Postoffice, and later, when the mail service had been perfected, and it was found that mails reached Japan quicker when sent by way of Seattle, the Postoffice Department was asked to make Seattle the exchange office for the transacting of money order business between the two countries. This was asking for business claimed by the San Francisco office, and of course it was necessary to show that better service could be given through this office. A representative from the Seattle office and the Superintendent of the Money Order System accomplished this, and in due time Seattle was made a Japanese International money order exchange office, certifying the Japanese orders issued in the Northern States from Minnesota west to the coast, these states at that time furnished nearly half of the Japanese money order business of the United States. In General Meem's term, too, Seattle was made a depository for the surplus money and postal funds of offices in Alaska and Washington.

In the meantime the business of the office had increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to have more commodious quarters, and after the usual advertisement the office was moved to a store room and basement at the South West corner of University Street and First Avenue, in spite of the remonstrance of our leading papers, who accused the Department of moving the Postoffice out to Ballard, but the growth of the city has since demonstrated that the business has followed, and all of the daily papers have been located beyond the office.

When General Meem turned the office over to his successor, George M. Stewart, on the first of January, 1900, the gross receipts had risen to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars (\$138,000.) a year, and the help to thirty-two carriers and twenty-six clerks in the main office and six clerks in sub-stations. Mr. Stewart, immediately on taking charge of the office, busied himself successfully in obtaining better pay for the employees of the office and in bettering the mail facilities. He had the Post-offices of Ross, Fremont, and Latona consolidated with the Seattle Postoffice, and an Electric Railway Postoffice established connecting the Seattle office with Ballard on the north and South Park on the south, and supplying eight intermediary stations and Postoffices. The business of the office doubled during the first three years of Mr. Stewart's term, making it necessary to enlarge the present quarters. More Stations were established, South Seattle and Columbia City Postoffices were consolidated with and

made stations of the Seattle Postoffice, so that at that time Mr. Stewart in addition to being Postmaster of Seattle was also Postmaster of thirty-five stations in and adjoining the city. The gross receipts had risen to four hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$450,000.) a year, and the help had grown to one hundred carriers, twenty substitute carriers, ninety-two clerks in the main office, thirty-five clerks in stations, and ten special delivery messengers. There were also on the payrolls of the office fifty-three railway postal clerks and one hundred and ninety rural carriers who performed service in the State of Washington.

During Mr. Stewart's term work was begun on the new Government building at Third Avenue and Union Street which was occupied on November 11th, 1908.

George Russell was appointed Postmaster by President Roosevelt on December 9, 1908. Mr. Russell was born in Seattle in 1873, and was educated in the public schools of that city.

Mr. John W. Colkett was Assistant Postmaster under Postmasters, Carr, Lyon, Brookes, Davies, Meem, Stewart and Russell. Mr. Colkett witnessed the introduction of more innovations in the matter of handling mail in the Seattle Postoffice than any other man in public life in the city.

Mr. Battle, a prominent lawyer was appointed Postmaster by President Wilson on October 1st, 1913.

Air-Mail service between Seattle and Victoria was established on February 15th, 1920, for the purpose of facilitating the dispatch of Oriental mails.

In 1921, gross receipts totaled two million, two hundred and thirty-one thousand one hundred and thirteen dollars and forty-nine cents (\$2,231,113.49). There were three hundred and fifty-four clerks, and two hundred and eighty carriers and twelve laborers employed.

Mr. Perkins, the Assistant Postmaster during Mr. Battle's administration, was appointed Postmaster by President Harding on April 1st, 1923.

Mr. Wise was appointed Assistant Postmaster by President Coolidge in August, 1923.

In November, 1924, the City Division was moved from the Main Postoffice at Third Avenue and Union Street to the Terminal Station leased by the Government from the Great Northern Railroad. The Terminal Station is near the railroad depots and was remodelled and enlarged by the Great Northern Railroad Company for the purpose of accommodating approximately six

hundred clerks and carriers who had been removed from the Main Office. Mr. Regan is the Superintendent of the Terminal Station. It is in the interests of economy and efficiency that mails should be handled as near the rail depots as possible, since transportation is a large item in Postoffice expense.

On February 28, 1925, Congress passed an Act providing for an increase in the salaries of Postoffice employees.

The receipts of the office for the year 1925 were three million, one hundred and forty-two thousand, seven hundred and eighty-six dollars and seventy-five cents (\$3,142,786.75).

Postmaster Perkins was largely instrumental in the inauguration of the new air-mail service between Seattle and New York in February, 1926. Under this schedule, air-mail is dispatched from Seattle by rail to Pasco, Washington. From this point it is forwarded by airplane to Elko, Nevada, where air-mail is received from California and other western points. From Elko the mail is carried by plane direct to New York, via Cheyenne, Omaha, and Chicago. Transmission time from New York to Seattle under this system is two and one-half days.

The Seattle Postoffice has grown in the past twenty-five years from a way station on a mail route between two small towns to the proud position of the largest and most important office in the State of Washington. It is the terminus of seventeen railway postoffices which employ over one hundred Railway Postal clerks, with mails arriving and departing at all hours of the day and night. It is the terminus of more steamship routes than any other city in the United States, dispatching mails direct to ports on both shores of the Pacific, from Victoria, British Columbia, northward along the Alaskan coast to Nome, and southward from Nome on the Russian, Japanese, Chinese and Philippine coasts to Australia and New Zealand.

Acknowledgement

In writing this History it has been my great privilege to have had the cooperation of two veteran employees of the Seattle Postoffice. I have drawn heavily upon the writings of the late Mr. Colkett, whose term of service in the Office extended from 1884 to 1926. I was generously assisted, also, by Mr. Hiram H. Van Brocklin, who read the entire manuscript, and who has been connected with the Seattle Postoffice since 1896.

To the employees in Postmaster Charles E. Perkins' office I am deeply indebted for aid in giving me access to the office files.

I also wish to acknowledge here my sincere appreciation of the help given me by Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, whose constructive criticism and advice facilitated greatly the compilation of this history of a public institution in the largest city of the Pacific Northwest.

NICHOLAS C. CULLINAN.

Berkeley, California, June 2nd, 1926.

SOME NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE NAME OREGON AS APPLIED TO THE RIVER OF THE WEST

For nearly one hundred years there has been considerable speculation and much thoughtful effort expended by historical students in, what the writer considers, rather futile and misdirected efforts to trace and establish the origin and meaning of this euphonious and poetical name. All attempts to give it a Spanish origin, as from "Ore-jin," signifying "Big ear," or "Oye el agua," "hear the waters," or as a corruption of "Ar-a-gon," or to attribute it to some French origin as from "Ouragan," "a windstorm, or tornado," have ignored its rather obvious Indian origin.

The first two students to recognize this fact apparently were two friends of the writer, Mr. John E. Rees, of Salmon, Idaho, and the late Mr. Jacob A. Meyers of Meyers Falls, Washington, neither of whom had an opportunity to consult and use the resources of any of our great libraries in the further development and proof of their theories. While using their suggestions, the writer has no desire to detract from any credit due them. It has, however, been my privilege to have had time and opportunity to examine and consult to some extent many sources of information that were not available to, nor consulted by, either of these gentlemen, and to cite these in confirmation and proof of their general theory that the name "Oregon" is of Indian origin, and that the last syllable thereof is obviously from the Indian word signifying "river."

Contemporary records of the time and scene of Carver's travels seem to contain practically all the data necessary to elucidate the origin of the name "Oregon" and its true Indian meaning.

The first recorded mention of this name, so far as generally known, and so far as the writer can ascertain, is that contained in Major Robert Rogers' proposal, of date August 12, 1765, wherein the Major proposes to explore "from thence to the River called by the Indians 'Ouragon'." Note the words "called by the Indians." Major Rogers' instructions and orders to Stanley Goddard of date 12 September, 1766, state that the expedition is in part: "ordered for the Discovery of the River Ourigan."

Major Rogers' instructions to Captain James Tute, Esq., of the same date contain the following language: "do you endeavour to fall in with the great River Ourgan which rises in several

different branches between Latitude fifty-six and forty-eight and runs westward for near three hundred Leagues."

In the latter part of the order we find: "from where the above rivers join this great River Ourigan," with the name later twice repeated with the same spelling. Again in Major Robert Rogers' second proposal, 11th February, 1772, we find the following: "to stem that (Missouri R.) northwesterly to its source; to cross thence a Portage of about thirty Miles, into the great River Ourigan."

Jonathan Carver's first mention of the name would appear to be in his original journal of date: "May 6 (1767) arrived at La praire Chien or Dog Plains here found Capt. James Tute Mr. James Stanley Goddard and a Party with (sic) some Goods in order to proceed from this to Find out the Great River Ourigan that runs into the South sea. . . ."

So far as known Carver's own petition and private papers make no previous mention of the name "Ourigan."

In chronological order of their appearance as noted above we have the following:

Major Rogers 1765-----Ouragon

Major Rogers 1766-----Ourigan

Major Rogers 1766-----Ourgan

Major Rogers 1766-----Ourigan

Carver 1767-----Ourigan

So far as the writer has been able to learn, the name "Ourigan" does not appear in any map prior to the date of the publication of the first edition of Carver's travels (London edition, 1778). The original edition, as shown by the catalogue card (F597 C33) in the Library of Congress and the copy on the shelves there, contained no map. In the subsequent several editions of 1779 we find, in the London edition of that year, the name appearing as "Origan" in the map, and an examination of the maps in the map room of the Congressional Library discloses that first form of the word appearing on any map is "Origan," then, as in Tamer and Flager's map of 1790, as "Oregon."

In the text to the various earlier editions of *Carver's Travels* there is little uniformity in the choice of the spelling. The first edition gives "Oregon" at page 542, and Oregon at pages ix and 76. The spelling Oregon appears on page iv of the Dublin edition, 1779; page xv of the Hamburg edition, 1789; page 5 of the Philadelphia edition of 1796; page II of the Edinburgh edition of 1798, etc. In fact the text of most editions contain both

"Oregon" and "Oregon," used apparently at the choice of the compositor. We thus have as to Carver's published work:

Early maps ----- Origan
 In occasional texts ----- Origan
 First London edition also, ----- Oregon
 and more frequently ----- Oregon

The original sound and spelling of the last syllable of the word was unquestionably "gan" or the Indian "kan," not "gon" as in Argon or Oregon.

Taking Major Rigers' original statement of 1766, the name is first an Indian name, and, applying the law of average, the first attempts to give an English equivalent of the sound of the Indian word practically agree upon the sounds Our-i-gan, as the equivalent of the Indian name for the river.

From the foregoing it is apparent that some Indian word, sounding like "ri-gan" to Rogers and Carver, forms the latter part of the Indian name they have each attempted to record. The sound of the consonant "r" is not used by the plains Indians from whom these gentlemen secured the name and, to use their own expressions, they have merely rendered the vocabularies as near as they could using English characters for the sounds. (Carver, p. 238).

Considerable knowledge then existed among the plains Indians concerning the Indians inhabiting, and the geography of the country immediately to the west of the Rocky Mountains, into which they made periodical raids for the joint purpose of securing slaves and horses.

The word "Or-i-gan" as shown, would probably be of the Assinaboia dialect, as they were an off-shoot of the Sioux Tribe and long allied with the Chipewars, and as noted by Henry, the holders of slaves from the "River of the West," and from whom, almost all of their knowledge of those rivers would come. No two of these slaves would have the same name for the river they had come from; hence it would naturally be spoken of as the "River of the Slaves," or "River of the West." Both Carver and Henry mention Slaves as a most valuable object of barter and trade.

Henry says in his "Travels," published in New York by J. Riley, 1809, page 273, "The Indians who inhabit them immediately to the southward (of Fort des Prairie Plains) are called Osinipoilles or Assiniboins. At the fort I met with a woman who was a slave among the Osinipoilles; taken far to the westward of the

mountains, in a country which the latter incessantly ravaged. She informed me, that the men of the country never suffer themselves to be taken, but always die in the field, rather than fall into captivity. The women and children are made slaves, but are not put to death, nor tormented. Her nation lived on a great river, running to the southwest, and cultivated beans, squashes, maize and tobacco. The lands were generally mountainous, and covered with pine and fir. She had heard of men who wear their beards. She had been taken in one of the incursions of the Osinipoills. Of the men who were in the village the greater part were killed, but a few escaped by swimming across the river."

Henry, on pages 306-7, after relating of the cruel treatment of a female slave that had been captured west of the mountains, states: "It is known that some slaves have the good fortune to be adopted into Indian families, and are afterwards allowed to marry in them, but among the Osinipoilles this seldom happens; and even among the Chipeways, where a female slave is so adopted and married, I never knew her to lose the degrading appellation of 'wa'-kan', a slave."

On page 325, he mentioned the buying of two slaves from the Indians from Lake Athabaska, that were natives of the country west of the Rockies. One a woman of twenty-five years of age and the other a boy of twelve, giving for each a gun. These would have been from the Fraser River country, but a "River of the West."

All contemporary accounts recite incidents of the slaves held by the Indians among whom Carver's expedition traveled, especially the Assinaboia and the Chippeway tribes, and a large part of the knowledge of the plains Indians of the geography west of the mountains was acquired from these slaves, and it would be most natural for the Assinaboia, Chippewas and other plains Indians to associate both the country and the great river of the mountains with these slaves, and in their name given to the river.

"Ogwa" is a Shoshone word signifying "river," and "Owah" is the Chippeway equivalent. Here we evidently have the first syllable of our present *Oregon* "Wa-kan" is the Chippeway word for slave, and here we have the last syllable of the name *Oregon*, which as shown did not originally appear in its present form *Oregon*. What more natural than the plains Indians should call the great legendary river west of the mountains "The River of the Slaves," or "Slave's River"? In original Indian this would be "Owah wakan." This is easily shortened in common use by

dropping the repeated syllable "wa," or "ha," to simply "O-wa-kan." In this, I believe, we have as close an approximation of Rogers' original "Or-i-gan" as we may ever hope to get, and a reasonable and logical significance therefor, "The River of the Slaves," or River of the West—a great river flowing into the Western Sea—told of by Indian slaves captured in raids against the Snake or Shoshone Indians, the Flathead Indians, the Kootenai and other intermountain tribes who themselves were often in ignorance as to its actual place of outlet. Witness the two Indian women sent from Spokane House to carry despatches to Stuart's post—in what is now British Columbia,—who descended the Columbia River and were intercepted by the Astor party at the mouth of that stream.

The location and outlet of the river was long a puzzle to geographers. M. d'Vangondy's map, Paris, 1772, at 45°, just below his C. Blanc shows at "Entrée de Martin d'Aquilar" a "Riviere de l'Ouest suivant les Francois" having an eastern course; and north of that a "Riviere de l'Ouest suivant les Cartes Russes"—both streams heading among the Assiniboels. D'Anville' and Roberts' General Atlas and Maps of 1787 and 1782 also show two rivers of the West; the northern having its source at Lake Winnipeg in the lands of the Assinipoels and the southern river or branch having its source in Pike's Lake in the country of the Sioux. Most contemporary maps show the mystical river to have a source in the lands of the Sioux and the Assiniboin Indians, which terms would include the allied Chippewas. This continued association of the source of the stream with these Indians is, to the mind of the writer, but further proof and confirmation of the position that the name Origan as applied to that stream was first obtained from these Indians, and that the Indian name for the river was "O-wa-kan," meaning "River of the Slaves."

WILLIAM S. LEWIS.

DOCUMENTS

DIARY OF WILKES IN THE NORTHWEST

[Continued from Volume XVII., Page 144]

[August, 1841.]

2nd August

This day light breezes and calms. The moon was eclipsed last Evg. it had slipped my memory and the consequent fatigue of 2 nights watching the navigation of the ships in an exposed Strait subject to strong currents I was unable to attend to the observations it was very distinct & clear by the report of those who saw it.

At noon of this day I anchored in Port Scarborough¹⁷⁵ named after the master of [Ms. P. 107] of a Sch^r. in the employ of the H.B.C. service who had been greatly desirous of affording me the information that lay in his power.

We have had many Indians on board of the Classet tribe who are quite numerous and inhabit the country about Cape Flattery. They seem much disposed to trade and barter and are greatly surprised that so large a ship should want no furs, and it is difficult to make them understand the use of a Man of War. George the chief of the Tatouche tribe was on board all day he speaks a few words of English and after taking his likeness he was very communicative. On remarking on [illegible]¹⁷⁶ on his nose he said it was the custom of all those who had struck or taken whales so to mark themselves it is immediately on the bridge of the nose. All this tribe wear noselets of the this [drawing] just about as large as a 10 cent piece. They are generally naked except their blankets or skins and wear the conical hat of Nootka Sound [drawing] wove very tight that makes it impervious to water. These they readily sell for tobacco.

This and *paulalee* (powder) are the articles in general request. They maintain themselves by fishing and take many whales which is done by using sealskin buoys attached to their harpoons—and are said to be very dexterous in taking them. They are the most numerous tribe we have met with and appear far more intelligent than others seen before of the Clallams & Nisqually. [Ms.

¹⁷⁵ See note 165 above.

¹⁷⁶ In the *Narrative* Volume IV., page 486, he speaks of this distinguishing mark as a scar.

P. 108] They are now all at peace and I should think this a good place for Missionary operations. They appear quite ignorant of any religious forms. In the afternoon sent all the boats surveying & went myself to take alt^{de}. and angles & a pull round Port *Scarborough*.

Using 3 mi. south of Meridian Altitude it places it in the Island of Neah

	48°. 24' 41" N.
Longitude by chro ^r .	124. 36. 46.
Variation for August	21. 08. 18. Easterly.

3rd August.

Finished the Survey of Port Scarborough it being calm got off about 1500 galls of water. The water is here good and sufficient for a supply for any vessel there is some little difficulty in getting it. The brook is small and enters the Bay on a sandy beach which is shallow with our water bags however we found no difficulty in procuring as much as we could take in during the morning a vessel watering with casks would find more difficulty and it would occupy more time but a supply could always be depended on¹⁷⁷. I observed the Latitude here again to day & it put it (The Point of Neah Island) in 48°. 24' 40". which agrees with that of Cape Flattery by Vancouver. The anchorage is very good shelter with a S.E. or S.W. wind but from the N.W. the sea in a gale would roll in heavy. To anchor here stand into the Bay until you see the *Sail Rock*¹⁷⁸ between Neah Island¹⁷⁹ & the main. You will then have 10½ to 11 fath^s. sandy bottom and a smooth birth. I anchored rather nearer to [Ms. P. 107a]¹⁸⁰ the Cape Flattery Point (Point Kilcome)¹⁸¹ of the chart; in a N.W. Wind I would advise anchoring to the Eastward of the Neah Island as it protects you from the sea of that Quarter 10 to 12 fath^s. of the sandy beach is good about ½ mile or rather less from the Shore. The ebb & flood set here regularly close in — On rounding *Tatouche Island*¹⁸² (off the Cape) (there is a small Rock called *Duncans Rock* it is not seen until nearly up with it, the passage is

177 The Makah Indians at Neah Bay in 1905 had put a sign over Neah Creek: "No washing above this sign." Indian women were busily washing clothes in the creek between the sign and the bay.

178 Two miles east of Waaddah Island and so called by Wilkes for its shape and color.

179 Now known as Waaddah Island. Captain Kellett in 1847 charted it "Wyadda" from which has evolved the present spelling.

180 Another twist in page numbering.

181 Probably Koitlah Point. In the atlas Wilkes spelled it "Hilcome" although in the diary it is clearly "Kilcome." No similar name appears in the muster-roll so he was apparently not here trying to honor one of his expedition.

182 Present charts give the spelling *Tatoosh*.

clear between these I ran through with the Wind but I would advise going outside of it as the eddy is strong at times & failing the wind an accident might happen. it is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile off) you will see Neah Island it [illegible] like a point — [Ms. P. 108a] and has some ragged trees and bare rocks visible and just within it there is a conical shaped hill back of it, you may haul in for the Bay as soon as you please no dangers exist but what are visible your 1st cast will be 25 fathoms on reaching bottom — & it then shoals gradually to 10 & 8 when you may [drawing of anchor]¹⁸³ and await the tide or Wind altho I consider the Straits safe yet it is as well to avoid passing the night if possible in them. The wind generally draws up or down, and light winds for the most part prevail. New Dungeness is the next [drawing of anchor] about [blank] miles distant and may be easily known by its long tongue of sand on the Point of which there is an old stump which has the appearance of a beacon and maybe seen several miles the course up the strait is [blank]

If you wish to [drawing of anchor] in New Dungeness give the Point a birth of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile where you will have 7 fathoms and round into the Bay where you will soon have 11 & 10 fathoms good holding ground. Water is to be obtained here in abundance near the Point of woods from which the long Sandy Point runs in a small river there is a large village of Clallams here they are not to be trusted altho we found them honest being well armed — on the south of this Bay is sandy beach and there is an entrance into one of the most remarkable basins I have ever seen $4\frac{1}{2}$ & 5 fath^s. may be carried with it when it expands to a large Port capable of containing a large fleet as if it were in a Wet cloth. The clear, fresh water is to be had here also in abundance.¹⁸⁴ [Ms. P. 109]

3rd Augst. cont^{ed}.

At 2 P.M. got underweigh Porpoise in Compy. and stood out with a light N.W. wind and having the Ebb. I succeeded in reaching an offing before the fog set in, these fogs are very thick and are annoying in navigating this coast. They generally last throughout the night and little wind from the westward accompanies them and if a vessel is caught close in to the coast, it would be well if on bottom to drop a small [drawing of an anchor] and thus prevent being carried one knows not where by the current.

¹⁸³ After this he uses frequently the drawing of an anchor in place of writing the word.

¹⁸⁴ At the end of this entry, in another handwriting appears the words "Budds Harbor." See note 13 above.

At 9 wind light I tacked to the N^d. & W^d. as I could not head better than South and preferred to hove off rather than be sucked in on the coast near the Flattery Rocks. There is bottom all along this part, but if possible I would avoid [drawing of anchor] S. Ends thick fog and light wind from W.S.W.

4th Augt.

Much foggy weather and light winds with a smooth sea all this 24 hours wind from W.S.W. little to be done advancing south^d. about 2 miles the hour and by way of doing something useful sounding every hour general in 80 to 90 fath^s. sounding varying from gravel rock & sand to mention sand of a dark bluish color. Latitude by an indifference observations 48°. 10' North No Longitude obtained. cold and chilly with light drizzling rain. Lost sight of the Porpoise due to fog — employed during the day on the Charts &c. &c. [Ms. P. 110]

5th August.

This 24 hours the weather has been somewhat clear, and the atmosphere somewhat more mild and genial to our feelings — light winds continue from the W.N.W. to W.S.W. with a smooth seas heavy hanging clouds all around the horizon. The Porpoise was discovered at daylight astern of us, and joined company this relieved my mind a little as I was afraid that losing her might occasion delays which I am particularly desirous of avoiding off the River we continued sounding every hour through the night, and day getting bottom at times in 95 to 80 fathoms and again losing it at 200 to 250 — our course is direct for this River — being in Lat^e. 47°. 20' 59" at noon & Longitude 125°06' — which places me about 25 to 30 miles from the coast. it is extremely satisfactory in navigating this coast to be enabled to get Sounding by which our distance may with some certainty be ascertained from it during the prevalence of fogs &c. &c. & when it might be imprudent to venture to run in for the land, the soundings vary from rocky bottom to a sandy loam — and have been preserved for reference.

The day has been employed in bringing up our plotting of the survey of the Inlets & Sound and connecting them together & arranging the materials for future reference.

Few sick and those who were burnt by Gunpowder are fast recovering from their wounds (see page (117) for continuation) [Ms. P. 117]

6th. August.

Weather moderate. Cape Disappointment in Sight at day light stood in for it Brig in Company at 10:30 made a sail-ship which proved to be whale ship Orozimbo crew badly effected with Scurvy sent him medical assistance. Flying fish in sight coming out, lying too off Columbia River Bar. At Meridian Cap^a. Hudson came on board. Peacock proved a total loss they saved their lives by good management & Books, papers, charts, &c. &c. except the chro^r. books and the dip & Intensity needles — Capt. Hudson entered into a full explanation of his disaster, and the manner in which it was brought about, and the whole occurrence is detailed in his report to me which I have attentively read and considered, and must finally come to the conclusion that the Ship was lost by want of prudence and a due consideration of the nature of the place he was to enter that he endeavoured to observe his sailing directions there is no doubt of, but they were not followed is equally so, for they would as certainly have carried him in clear. I incline to think that the Peacock's local attraction had something to do with it, & was and indeed I am well aware has had too much [illegible] for a vessel on this Service, but the idea I have of the Bar, and I am well aware he had from repeated conversations with him at Oaho a year before accident on this subject ought to have made him sufficiently cautious not to have ventured with his ship when he had the services of the flying fish quainted with the proper channel, and have avoided any disaster — in another point of view I think he acted injudiciously which was after he found the Breakers [Ms. P. 117a] making across the channel, and having hauled off he should again have kept away, which if he had been on the correct bearings before must have taken him counter to them. When he kept away the 2nd time, to run through the apparently Smooth place, and I feel satisfied he acted without due consideration when he did so — I am fully persuaded, that he had not made himself fully master of the information he had, and by which he intended to guide himself — and the only thing in my mind that can excuse him from great blame is the noble manner in which he behaved after his ship struck, in endeavoring to extricate her from her situation, which becoming impossible, he finally succeeded in saving about all that was valuable as to the results of his last cruize, and the lives of all hands —

In my report I have in part justified him, for I deemed it my

duty under the circumstances, & placed as he is with me and I have endeavored to give it that turn, as will make it in the eyes of the many, a circumstance naturally to be looked for on this service —¹⁸⁵

Before quitting this subject I owe it to myself to place it once on record, that few or none can be aware of the difficulties I have had to labour under in the absence of officers to comprehend the nature of the service we are upon, and the mode & manner of acting under orders given them, I have endeavored to be always distinct, and clear, & have in conversation drawn them to my views of the duty, but they go counter to the spirit, though perhaps in their constructions of it (the letter) they exceed so far my intention as to make it operative, (by the waste of time) on other & more [Ms. P. 118] important duties they had to perform. One case in point Capⁿ. Hudson was ordered with the P. & F. F.¹⁸⁶ to proceed on a cruise in search of low Islands. On his way the Samoan Group thence to the Ellice, Kingsmill & as far as Ascension & Strong's Island & the Pescadores—in looking for an Island near that of Washington, he spends a fortnight, and does not arrive at Upolu until a month after the designated time by which he is overtaken by the bad seasons & is detained in his whole progress, and finally gets off the Pescadores, & is unable from want of provisions & the lateness of the season.

8th May (The time at latest for him to have been at the Columbia & so expressed in his orders) & determines it is necessary for him to return to Oahu with his ship & Flying Fish for provisions whereby continuing to the N. West coast he would have much sooner reached them, and where he well knew I had made arrangements to send them, this detains him at least another month, so that he does not arrive at the Columbia until nearly 3 months after the expiration of his time appointed, and besides all this the most important part of his cruise is left untouched, and throwing out Upolu the rest of little consequence, in short my orders were carried out, but so far different that if I had been informed, or could for one moment have supposed, such a waste of force, time, and object, I would not have believed it but I am at the same time far

¹⁸⁵ It is true he does justify Captain Hudson in the published *Narrative*, Volume IV, pages 489-495, where the account of the accident reflects great credit on the officers and men. James Dwight Dana, mineralogist, one of the scientific corps on the *Peacock*, in one of the editions of his later book *Coral and Coral Islands* gave a graphic account of that wreck. In 1907 the present editor had the pleasure of interviewing the widow of the missionary J. H. Frost who with her husband helped the survivors of that wreck in 1841. See "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Volume II., Number 1 (October, 1907) pages 12-23. See also notes 59 and 60 above.

¹⁸⁶ *Peacock* and *Flying Fish*.

from imputing delays to Cap^t. Hudson I am fully persuaded there is no one who would exert himself more to carry my wishes into execution & who is always on the alert to do so, but it is from want of knowledge or information required for this service. I have given this instance relative to Cap^t. H. but it might be supposed I indulged prejudices towards others, to all knowing that I even could think so of him¹⁸⁷

187 The diary was his confidential friend and he gave it his innermost thoughts. He did not allow any of these thoughts detrimental to Captain Hudson to obtrude in the published *Narrative* where he gives the *Peacock's* cruise in Volume VI., pages 3-110. On page 44 he records the fact that he named Hudson Island, in the South Sea after the Captain..

Our photostat copy of the original diary ends with the wreck of the *Peacock* and Commander Wilkes' own comments on the causes. The published *Narrative*, Volume IV., pages 495-496, says he shifted his pennant to the *Porpoise* in which he proposed to survey the lower Columbia, using also the *Flying Fish* and the saved boats of the *Peacock*. He transferred Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold to the *Vincennes* and ordered him to sail to San Francisco Bay. He sent a party under Lieutenant George F. Emmons on a surveying trip by land from the Columbia to San Francisco. His accounts of that trip, of his own surveys of the Columbia and of Midshipman Eld's trip down the Chehalis to Gray's Harbor and along the Coast to the Columbia are in the *Narrative*, Volume V., pages 111-148. Near the end of that chapter he prints his letter of gratitude to Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglass for kindness received from officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

BOOK REVIEWS

Granville Stuart: Forty Years on the Frontier. Edited by PAUL C. PHILLIPS. Volumes I and II. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925. Pp. 272+265. Price \$12.00.)

The history of our westward movement is rapidly being told but much remains to be done, for there are many chapters, especially in the history of Middle West, that have only been sketched in broad outlines. A personal reminiscence like this book by Mr. Stuart fills an important place because it gives full details and throws the vivid light of personal experience on this period. It is especially valuable since Mr. Stuart's career included an overland trip to California in 1852 where he saw the seamy side of the gold rush. He was a trader and packer and thus watched the road to the gold fields. As pioneer conditions began to recede in the mining camps, he went to the Great American Desert east of the mountains and there became one of the first cattle men of the frontier. In the meantime he had also gone into the mercantile business. It was in Montana that he and his brother, James Stuart, worked together and where they saw the passing of frontier life.

During these forty years of activity, Mr. Stuart kept a journal. He tried later to incorporate with it the accounts of other pioneers in Montana but the editor found it too bulky. The editor also excluded parts of his manuscript that had already been published. The two volumes contain, therefore, a chronological account of his forty years on the frontier, taken from his journal.

It makes interesting reading. Although the style is like that of most pioneer journals, Mr. Stuart was evidently a man of sympathy, humor, and understanding. He appreciated the small details of pioneer life and reflects upon these details. As he himself stated in his preface: "I have these recollections written that those who come after may know something of the hardships endured, perils encountered, and obstacles overcome by this warm-hearted, generous, self-sacrificing band of men and women who suffered so much to attain their ideals".

It is rather fine to capture again the glory of a lost era, the era of the American frontier through the experience of one of the actors of that era.

EBBA DAHLIN.

Rekindling Camp Fires, the Exploits of Ben Arnold (Connor).

By LEWIS F. CRAWFORD. (Bismarck, North Dakota: Capital Book Company, c1926. Pp. 324. \$3.00.)

"The story of the West must be written largely from human experiences, as vital moving history must come from the lives and activities of men". Hence these experiences of Ben Arnold so admirably edited by Lewis Crawford (who is the superintendent of the state historical society of North Dakota and the author of several books) are a valuable contribution to the history of the middle western states in the period around 1860-1867. Mr. Crawford has completely obliterated his own personality in developing Ben Arnold's story, which reads like an autobiography, but the clear concise style and grouping of material is the work of the editor. The historical authenticity is vouchsafed for by the editor's knowledge of his own state, coupled with his painstaking care in consulting source material from books and people who lived then. No apologies have been made in mentioning names or relating incidents which were often a discredit to individuals concerned, and the narrator has not spared himself in this respect, his purpose being to present such incidents truthfully.

Ben Arnold (Connor) was a restless spirit, who loved adventure and for 60 years was an Indian fighter, gold miner, cowboy, hunter and army scout in the states of Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas. He was uneducated, but was "an expert marksman, a good packer, could cover a trail like an Indian, and had an ability to find his way in the night that was uncanny"—What better qualities could a frontiersman possess. This combined with an Irish wit, a keen observation, and a faculty to remember names and incidents enabled him to give an interesting intimate account of his own life and the life of the times in which he lived. His understanding of the Indians, his skill in speaking the Sioux language, and his knowledge of the country, made him a valuable army scout. The last few chapters are devoted to the Sioux uprising, resulting from the violating of the treaty of 1868, and the invasion of white settlers and miners into the Black Hills reservations. There are controversial opinions concerning Crook's stand in this campaign and Ben Arnold's account as a spectator is worth taking into consideration.

LOU LARSON.

An Army Boy of the Sixties; a Story of the Plains. By A. B. OSTRANDER. (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1924. Pp. 272. \$2.00.)

After Sixty Years; Sequel to a Story of the Plains. By A. B. OSTRANDER. (Seattle: Gateway Printing Company, 1925. Pp. 120. \$2.00.)

The books above listed are also published together in one volume, priced at \$4.00, and obtainable from the author at 227½ Belmont Avenue North, Seattle, Washington.

The first volume was issued in 1924 and gives vivid accounts of a private soldier's experiences on the Frontier of the Middle West ten years after the Old Oregon Country had almost forgotten Indian Fights and Fighters.

The author's army experiences began at Governor's Island, on Long Island, in March, 1864, as a drummer boy. A year later he was transferred to St. Louis, with General William T. Sherman in charge at headquarters. Ostrander, being a clerk in the office came in contact with Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Cooke and many other notable military chieftains. Another year saw him trailing far up into the Indian country to Fort Reno and then to Fort Phil Kearny.

During all of his service in this region the Sioux were on the warpath and at no time could any number of soldiers less than a company safely go outside the stockades much less out of sight of the fort. He tells of the hatred of the Sioux for Fort Phil Kearny which had been built in spite of their urgent protests in a part of their territory which had been guaranteed to them by treaty, and after two years of almost daily forays by the Indians Forts Reno and Phil Kearny were abandoned and at once destroyed by the Indians.

The book gives at first hand knowledge concerning the Indian war of that period and relates incidents of personal contact with army officers of high rank, and with many noted trappers and army scouts.

After Sixty Years is a story of the present day, giving an account of the author's recent trip into the region of the long ago, of his experiences in again traveling the old trails and visiting the old scenes of sixty years ago. The buffalo are all gone, the Indians are living quietly on their reservations; farms, grazing herds, thriving cities now line the paths where the Sioux roamed and warred undefeated when the boy Ostrander wore the army blue.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

The Story of the Western Railroads. By ROBERT EDGAR RIEGEL.
(New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. 345. \$2.50.)

The Story of the Western Railroads by Robert E. Riegel is not for the romanticist. The development of the railroad maze is not the story of a modern Aladdin. It is rather the account of an inch by inch, month by month conquest in the threefold field of politics, finance and engineering.

Mr. Riegel has condensed a mass of facts, gleaned largely from source material, into a comprehensive survey of western railroad history from its beginning to the early years of the twentieth century. He writes without bias; he is strictly non-partisan whether he is writing of the capitalist, the politician, or the interested public. His account is an illuminating correlation of facts concerning the network of the western railroads with its manifold ramifications covering federal, state and local aid, the relation to economic prosperity and depression, the difficulties with labor, and the progress of the roads toward consolidation.

An index and a lengthy bibliography make the book useful for ready reference. The bibliography is annotated and divided in conformity with the chapter divisions. The book is undoubtedly a scholarly contribution to the field of general railroad history, a field as yet scarcely touched.

ELVA L. BATCHELLER.

A Political and Social History of the United States: Volume I. (1492-1828). By HOMER C. HOCKETT, Professor of American History, Ohio State University. *Volume II. (1829-1925).* By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925. Pp. XIV+438; and XVIII+576.)

These two volumes designed primarily as a text for college classes, though excellent reading for the general public, emphasize the growing demand for economic and social history in place of the old political outline. The result is a condensation of the purely political story and the inclusion of much new material which is sometimes woven into the political narrative and sometimes given in separate chapters. Professor Hockett devotes 166 pages of his volume to the period ending with the making of the Constitution and the balance takes the story down to the election of Jackson. The opening chapter on European Beginnings suffers slightly in literary style from abrupt condensation but the succeed-

ing chapters present very clearly, accurately and concisely the development of our early history. Throughout the volume there is a successful attempt to present the material in pleasing form and at the same time there is maintained a careful regard for the exact facts. Chapter XI which deals with a difficult period, the Formation of the Constitution—difficult to present in brief compass—and yet the author in about forty pages sets it forth very clearly and adequately, in fact the reviewer knows of no other place where it is better done briefly, even though Professor Hockett seems to go out of his way to take a dig at Prof. Beard. Professor Schlesinger's part of the work begins with the election of Jackson and comes down to the present time in thirty chapters which are grouped under four general headings, viz. The Age of the Common Man, The Contest over Nationality, The Economic Revolution, and Greater America. The first three of these broad divisions is opened by a chapter setting forth the social and economic developments, and in addition five more chapters deal with the same sort of material primarily. As in the case of the first volume, this one is marked by considerable literary skill. Throughout both volumes the Westward Movement comes in for a large share of attention. Professor Schlesinger's is the more difficult period. As one approaches the present the embers of political passion are easily kindled but he has to a surprising degree presented the facts fairly and has nowhere dropped into the pace of a mere chronicler. His story is eminently fair but alert and active.

Everywhere both writers show their familiarity with the newer work in the field and the reader can rest assured that his information has been gathered from the best that historical scholarship has produced.

At the end of each chapter is a brief "Select Bibliography" and in addition Prof. Hockett in an appendix gives a list of all the books cited at the close of the chapters. There is an index at the end of each volume.

There are a number of mistakes in the books. These are possibly inevitable owing to the difficulties involved in condensing so much material into brief space and at the same time trying to concede something to literary presentation. But they are not serious and in a later edition may be eliminated. Multitudes of students who will use these volumes owe a debt of gratitude to the writers.

EDWARD McMAHON.

An Outline of the History of the Pacific Northwest with Special References to Washington. By CEYLON S. KINGSTON and J. ORIN OLIPHANT. (Cheney, Washington: State Normal School, 1926. Pp. 101. \$1.00.)

The volume here presented is the outgrowth of a course in Northwest History which has been conducted for several years at the State Normal School, Cheney, Washington. It is similar in spirit and purpose to the *Northwestern History Syllabus* contributed to this *Quarterly* by Professor Meany in issues extending from April, 1912, to October, 1916, and the *List of References on the History of the West* published by Professor Turner for the use of students in Harvard University. Each of these syllabi have been issued primarily for school purposes and each has a value for all students of the subject and for librarians and book collectors.

The present *Outline* goes into greater detail of topics and bibliography for the state of Washington than either of the previous publications and has the advantage of being more recent. In addition to the standard books most accessible to students, references are made to numerous articles in periodicals, particularly the *Washington Historical Quarterly* and the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society.

The number of pages indicated above does not give a correct idea of the amount of material offered in this volume as the outline is printed in very small type and the bibliographical notes are almost microscopic. Had the authors employed type of the size used in this *Quarterly*, the volume would have exceeded three hundred pages. The compactness and low price will appeal to the students for whom the work was primarily prepared. As an important library reference book of permanent value, a larger and more legible type would have justified a larger price.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Eskimo Legends. By ROY J. SNELL. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1925. Pp. 203. \$0.80.)

These *Eskimo Legends* are presented as supplementary reading for schools. As stories of the Far North they are suitable for children in the upper grades. Doubtless they will prove of value also to students of the native folk lore of the North.

More Rawhides. By C. M. RUSSELL. (Great Falls, Montana: Montana Newspaper Association, 1925. Pp. 60.)

The author of this book is the author of *Rawhide Rawlins Stories*. These latter stories are a continuation of the series already known. The best recommendation after the text is the fact that the illustrations are by the author and in his best style. The work carries no pretense to history but it does throw a flood of light upon ranch life and the philosophy of the range.

My Experiences Among the Indians. By JOHN JAMES. (Austin, Tex.: Gammel, 1925. Pp. 147. \$2.00.)

John James, who has grown to love and respect the Indians during his service as a teacher among the tribes of Indian Territory and Texas, writes simply and sincerely of his life among them, describing their customs, racial characteristics and achievements in the hope that he may arouse people to a sense of the injustice done to the race. He includes in his volume a number of orations by famous Indians.

The Early History of the Fraser River Mines. By FREDERIC W. HOWAY. (Victoria, B. C.: Provincial Government, 1926. Pp. 126.)

Judge Howay gives an illuminating introduction furnishing the background for the historical letters and documents. These he has fully annotated in his well known spirit of painstaking accuracy. There are ten helpful illustrations. The rush to the Fraser River mines is one of the thrilling chapters of Northwestern History. This volume will now be accepted as one of the dependable source books on that topic. The book is listed as Memior No. VI., Archives of British Columbia.

Chechahco and Sourdough. By SCOTT C. BONE. (Los Angeles, California: Scott C. Bone, 1926. Pp. 281.)

From 1911 to 1918, Scott C. Bone was editor-in-chief of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. During that time he was also chairman of the committee on Alaskan affairs in the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and availed himself of opportunities to make several extensive journeys in Alaska. In 1921 he was appointed by President Harding to be Governor of Alaska and served in that capacity for four years. In this book he has chosen fiction as the vehicle for conveying the wonderful story of his beloved Alaska. It is

charming as a dramatic love story and it is packed with incidental information about recent changes in that "Treasure Land of the North." The address of the author-publisher is National City Bank Building, Eighth and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California.

Kate Mulhall, a Romance of the Oregon Trail. By EZRA MEEKER. (New York: Ezra Meeker, 10 Old Slip, New York City, 1926. Pp. 287. \$2.00.)

Like Governor Bone with his *Chechahco and Sourdough*, Ezra Meeker in *Kate Mulhall* undertakes to exploit a hobby with fiction. He has employed the dramatics now familiarly catalogued as "Covered Wagon." His characters experience joys, sorrows and hardships. Of course there is "happiness ever after." Collectors of Western Americana will desire this book as another Meeker item. He has become the best known pioneer of the west. He was born on December 29, 1830, and says that he confidently expects to round out "A Century of Busy Life," (the title chosen for his next book.) Among the illustrations is a photograph of the aged author shaking hands with President Coolidge at the White House on March 25, 1926.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION. *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting.* (New York: The Society, 1926. Pp. 352.)

BUTLER, JOSEPH G., JUNIOR. *Fifty Years of Iron and Steel.* (Cleveland: The Penton Press Company, 1923. Pp. 183.)

EVANS, PAUL DEMUND. *The Holland Land Company.* (Buffalo: The Buffalo Historical Society, 1924. Pp. 469.)

JAMES, JAMES A., Editor. *The George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784.* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1925. Pp. 572.)

LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND. *Pottery of Costa Rica and Nicaragua.* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Two Volumes, 1926.)

REID, M. FRANCIS. *Doodle, A California Boy.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1926. Pp. 293. *\$2.00.)

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings for the Years 1923, 1924 and 1925.* (Montpelier: The Society, 1926. Pp. 286.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Zimmermann's "Reise um die Welt"

An item of unusual value and interest has been recently obtained by the University of Washington Library. This volume is the work of Heinrich Zimmermann, a Swiss sailor who accompanied James Cook on his third voyage around the world. The book bears the following title: *Reise um die Welt mit Capitain Cook* (Mannheim: C. F. Schwan, 1781. Portrait vignette, Pp. 110).

Heinrich Zimmermann was a brass-founder on board the *Discovery*. He was with Cook during the entire third voyage and gives particulars not elsewhere to be found. His account was the first to appear on the continent, although Rickman's *Journal* published anonymously in London in 1781 may have preceded it by a few months. The official English edition did not appear until 1784.

Attention was drawn to the importance of Zimmermann's account by His Honor Judge F. W. Howay, in his presidential address before the Royal Society of Canada, delivered in May, 1924. In this address devoted to "The Early Literature of the Northwest Coast," Judge Howay discussed this account by H. Zimmermann and its rarity. He stated that he had never seen a copy and that it was not contained in the British Museum. He stated that the first edition of Zimmermann appeared in Göttingen in 1781 and that it was issued the following year in Mannheim.

The copy just obtained bears the imprint of Mannheim, 1781. Whether an edition was also issued in Göttingen the writer is unable to confirm, but it is so stated in the bibliography of the *Centenaire de la Mort de Cook*, item 111. Through the kindness of Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, it is learned that the Library of Congress has no edition nor has it reference to any copy in its union catalog of rare books.

After years of effort the Provincial Library of Victoria, B. C. has secured an option on a copy of Zimmermann's *Reise*. It is learned that this copy was located in Australia and that it is the Mannheim edition of 1782. The copy in the University of Washington Library was secured by an Italian agent from a dealer in Leipzig.

Samuel F. Coombs

The Checklist of *Pacific Northwest Americana* enters by title the following work, item 961: *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon as Spoken on Puget Sound*. . . . (Seattle: Lowman, n.d.). Evidence points to Samuel F. Coombs as the author and users of the Checklist may revise their copies accordingly. J. C. Pilling in his *Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages* enters the title under "S. F. Coones." G. C. Shaw in his *Chinook Jargon and how to use it* enters under "Coomes." The date of publication was 1891.

Mr. Samuel F. Coombs was the first librarian of the University of Washington Library, having been elected to that position by the first Board of Regents of the University at their first meeting on November 11, 1862. He was something of a student of Indian languages and customs and furnished the information regarding Chief Seattle which appears in Costello's *The Siwash*.

A Union List of Special Collections

At the Seventeenth Conference of the Pacific Northwest Library Association held at Big Four, Washington, June 14-17, the Committee on Pacific Northwest Bibliography was authorized to publish a list of *Special Collections in the Libraries of the Pacific Northwest*. Such a publication will be of value to students in pointing out the location of special book collections within the Pacific Northwest. It will aid librarians in administering to best advantage the funds at their disposal.

As compared with the older and richer libraries of the East, the holdings of special collections will doubtless be small. Such a stock taking, however, as is proposed, will have great significance for the future. By cooperation needless duplication will be avoided and by parcelling out the field and limiting purchases to well defined channels the bibliographical resources of the Pacific Northwest can be increased to a maximum.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Cowlitz Mission

With an elaborate program, a beautiful tablet was erected on Cowlitz Prairie on May 11, 1926, to mark the site of the Cowlitz Mission of 1838 and the first Catholic Church in what is now the State of Washington. The tablet was erected by the Washington State Historical Society and the Knights of Columbus.

M. B. McBride, of Chehalis, was chairman of the Knights of Columbus committee; Judge John Arthur, of Seattle, President, and W. P. Bonney, of Tacoma, Secretary, led in the work for the Washington State Historical Society. Edward P. Ryan, of Spokane, presided at the ceremonies. There was music by the children of the Mission School and addresses were made by Judge Arthur; Hon. John I. O'Phelan, of Raymond; Rev. J. M. Canse, of Centralia; Rev. Father Roman, Pastor of the Cowlitz Mission.

Fort Henness

Near the center of Grand Mound Prairie, Thurston County, a blockhouse fort was erected during the Indian War of 1855-1856 which gave shelter to men, women and children to the number of two hundred and twenty-seven. The Washington State Historical Society erected a marker there which was dedicated on Saturday, June 12, 1926, with the following program, Judge John Arthur presiding:

Music, singing by the audience, led by Mrs. Abbie Eperson of Centralia.

Invocation, by Rev. J. M. Canse, D.D.

"Events Leading to Indian Outbreaks," by Prof. L. H. Baker of Portland.

"Building Fort Henness," by John James, of Grand Mound, only surviving builder.

"Inception of the Memorial," by George E. Smith, Centralia.

"Our Debt to the Pioneers," by Mayor George Barner, of Centralia.

"Our Schools and the Years to Come," by Prof. J. E. McCleary of Rochester.

Presentation of the marker, by W. P. Bonney, of Tacoma, Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society.

Unveiling of the marker by Miss Irene James and others.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

LIBRARIES OF THE NORTHWEST

Everyone who is interested in the history of the Pacific Northwest is aware of the unselfish work and the indispensable cooperation of the librarians. In these swift years of our complex civilization, the people in general have learned to lean with child-like confidence upon the public libraries and their trained staffs. Even a more intensive form of dependence has evolved among students and writers of history, especially in the American area known as the Pacific Northwest.

This condition as a whole has been quickened and, perhaps, completely developed within the half-century of life of the American Library Association. There were great public libraries, of course, before that Association was called into being at the American Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876, and there were also many significant private libraries. Some of the most important changes wrought since the organization of the Association are rather easily discerned. In the first place, the librarians themselves awakened to the fact that their work was worthy of being classed as a profession. Training schools were established and, although they probably do not yet realize it, they became one of the first American groups to lend a glory to the slogan of "service" now so dominant in business and professional circles. Many improvements were also devised for the better classification, shelving and cataloguing of books, pamphlets and manuscripts. Precious time was saved for helper and user. People who could benefit by books and reading, it was thought, should not be handicapped by reasons of residence. Smaller communities were aided in organizing libraries and finally rural districts were served. The wholesomeness of the growth has been admirable from whatever angle it be viewed. Who would dare to complain about the consistent modesty of the profession! What group can match its alertness to help or its watchfulness to eliminate waste in time, money or materials! It ought not to surprise us to observe the streams of public

funds and the millions of surplus wealth attracted to this constructive element of American life.

While the Pacific Northwest was one of the latest portions of North America to be populated and developed, it passed through the same experiences of log-cabin, rude trail and savage conflict. The greatest difference from experiences on the Atlantic shores is the rapidity with which obstacles were overcome. A great momentum of progress had been acquired. That momentum was revealed by the far-western pioneer in his every act, in the implements he brought or soon acquired, in his quick efforts for ships, wagon roads and railroads, in his immediate ambition for towns, newspapers, schools, churches and libraries.

The pioneer efforts to secure libraries and reading rooms comprise one of the fascinating chapters of Pacific Northwestern history. Its compilation has remained for the professional librarians. Following the fine spirit of their colleagues in other regions of North America, they have been maintaining the Pacific Northwest Library Association. This organization held its Seventeenth Annual Conference at Big Four, near Everett, Washington, on June 14-17, 1926. At that meeting three historical papers were read as follows: "Early Library Development in Washington," by Charles W. Smith, Associate Librarian of the University of Washington; "Some Early Libraries of Oregon," by Mirpah G. Blair, of the Oregon State Library, Salem, Oregon; "The Library Movement in British Columbia," by J. Forsyth, Librarian and Archivist of the Provincial Library, Victoria, British Columbia. It is a privilege to publish in full these three papers in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* as a symposium on an important phase of Pacific Northwestern history.

Readers of these papers will be pleased with the aggregate of public spirit shown by the pioneers in their struggling villages and towns.

This brief tribute to the librarians of the Pacific Northwest should be prolonged sufficiently to justify a statement in the opening paragraph. In the early days, before the arrival of the professional librarians, students and writers of local history had to depend upon the memories of surviving pioneers and upon the private libraries of books, newspapers, manuscripts and diaries. Many of the pioneers have passed away and the private libraries have likewise almost entirely ceased to exist. These numerous collections have been merged, by gift or purchase, into the public or in-

stitutional libraries where they are scrupulously cared for and scientifically managed by the professional librarians. The change from the older condition was pointedly manifested by the publication of a remarkable working-tool for the Northwestern historian. Reference is here made to a check-list called *Pacific Northwest Americana*, published (as a second and enlarged edition) in New York by The H. W. Wilson Company in 1921. The work was sponsored by the Pacific Northwest Library Association. Fifteen of the most important libraries participated and three others also furnished some of the items. Four thousand, five hundred and one items are listed with full bibliographical information and giving the location of each item. In this undertaking the Pacific Northwest is interpreted as all of that area north of California and between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. These libraries cooperate with each other. In this way the students and historians of the Pacific Northwest are served with books and documents more adequately than is probably the case in any other portion of North America. One of the historians desires here to lift his voice in praise of the devoted service of those unselfish librarians.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

EARLY LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON

Fifty years ago at the Philadelphia Centennial, the American Library Association was founded. In that year the United States Bureau of Education published a most important report upon the *Public Libraries in the United States, Their History, Condition and Management*. This report gave statistics of all public libraries having three hundred volumes and over. According to this report the Pacific Coast had 103 libraries located as follows: California 86, Oregon 14, Washington 2, Alaska 1.

In the fifty years that have elapsed since 1876, great progress in Washington has been inevitable. That progress has been almost wholly confined, however, to the period since Statehood. The first law making possible the levying of a tax for the support of public libraries was not passed until 1890, the year after Washington became a State. Since that time there has been a development of libraries within the State keeping a fair pace with its growth in population and wealth.

The notes prepared for this paper have been purposely confined to the Territorial period, 1853-1889. In 1853, when the territory north of the Columbia was cut off from Oregon the white population of the entire Territory was but 3,965 white people, or about one-half of the present yearly attendance of the University of Washington. The growth in numbers moreover was very slow until the coming of the railroads beginning with the later 80's. It is small wonder that a survey of Territorial libraries reveals the number to be few and the size to be small.

Washington Territorial Library

The first library to be established in Washington Territory was the Territorial Library. The Organic Act of March 2, 1853, appropriated \$5,000 for the purchase of books and this money was expended by Isaac I. Stevens before he left the East to take up his post as first Governor. In Governor Stevens' first Message to the Legislature, he reported that 1,850 volumes had already arrived and that the remainder on the way would bring the number to about 2,000 volumes. These books were carefully chosen and made an excellent beginning to what became the most important library during the entire Territorial period. In passing it may be noted that Congress had made similar appropriations for other

Territories. Wisconsin was given \$5,000 in 1836 "for the use of the legislature and the Supreme Court". An equal sum was granted to Oregon in 1848 and to New Mexico in 1850.

An excellent short account of the history of the State Library has been compiled by Mr. J. M. Hitt, the present State Librarian, and is available in printed form in the *Report on a Survey of State Supported Library Activities* (Olympia, 1917) pages 43-45. There is also much documentary material relating to the history of this Library in the Legislative Journals and official reports of the State. In October, 1889, the number of volumes had grown to 10,448 and the Library was in charge of Eleanor Sharp Stevenson.

Steilacoom Library Association

The next library established was that of the Steilacoom Library Association. This was incorporated on February 3, 1858, and is in many ways the most interesting of the subscription libraries of the Territory. A *Constitution and By-Laws* (Steilacoom, *Puget Sound Herald* Office, 1860,) was printed in a 12-page pamphlet. The duties of the officers were here set forth in detail. Dues were 25 cents per month and admission was \$5.00. The purpose of the Association is thus stated: "The object of the Association shall be the diffusion of useful knowledge and sound morality: First, by establishing a library; Secondly, a Reading Room; Thirdly, by procuring Public Lectures, Essays, and establishing Debates".

This Library flourished successfully for several years. At the end of the first nine months \$300.00 had already been expended for books and an equal amount of money was in the hands of the treasurer. Money was raised by balls and other entertainments. Many public lectures and debates were given.

As the importance of Steilacoom dwindled, interest in the Library waned. An effort was made in 1895 to revive the Association and a new constitution and by-laws was framed. Papers were prepared placing the books in the custody of the Principal of the Steilacoom Academy.

A permanent revival of the Association failed and in February 1908, the property of the Association was deeded to Thomas W. Prosch, of Seattle, in accordance with a bill of sale now in possession of the University of Washington Library. This instrument recites that:

"We Chas. Prosch, of Seattle, and Ezra Meeker, also of Se-

attle, the only members of the Steilacoom Library Association, organized in March, 1858, in accordance with an Act of the Territorial Legislature of February 3, 1858, as the parties of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar lawful money of the United States of America, to them in hand paid by Thomas W. Prosch of Seattle, and for other considerations of a proper character, he being the party of the second part . . . do by these presents grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the party of the second part . . . all of the books, papers, pamphlets, case, furniture, records, and other things pertaining to the Steilacoom Library and the Steilacoom Library Association, now stored in the town of Steilacoom, unused by the public they were intended to serve and consequently of lessened and constantly lessening value . . . to have and to hold the same to the party of the second part his executors, administrators and assigns forever.

"Signed,

Charles Prosch
Ezra Meeker"

Affidavit attested by C. B. Bagley, Notary Public, on Feb. 24, 1908.

The document just cited was turned over to the University of Washington Library in a collection of manuscripts donated by Edith Prosch after the death of her father, Thomas W. Prosch. I have been unable to learn what volumes formerly belonging to the Steilacoom Library Association were acquired by Mr. Prosch, or where any of them may be at this time.

Next in chronological order comes the shadowy beginning of the University of Washington Library.

University of Washington Library

The history of the University of Washington Library dates from November 11, 1862. On that date the first regular meeting of the first Board of Regents was held and Samuel F. Coombs of Seattle was elected Librarian.¹

As the first Librarian of the University of Washington, a few words regarding Mr. Coombs may not be out of place. He came to Puget Sound in 1859 and taught school at Port Madison, having among his pupils Cornelius and Clarence Hanford. The next year, 1860, he came to Seattle where for many years he was

¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives 10th Session, (Olympia, 1863,) Appendix, p. v.*

chiefly employed as a clerk in Yesler's store. At the time of his appointment as librarian, Mr. Coombs was Postmaster of Seattle, having been appointed March 25, 1862, and holding the office until relieved by Gardner Kellogg, in the following year. In 1863, Mr. Coombs became Secretary of the King County Agricultural Society. In 1864, he was awarded a prize at the King County Fair for beer and porter which he exhibited. In 1865, Seattle got its first charter and Mr. Coombs was made Committing Magistrate. For several years during the sixties he ran the New Terminus Hotel. In 1873, he was one of the incorporators of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad and Transportation Company, and, from 1884-1888, he was Warden of the United States Penitentiary at McNeil's Island. He was a good penman and proved a handy man in many clerical capacities. He was justice of the peace and a student of Indian languages and customs. He compiled the *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon* issued by Lowman and Hanford in 1891, and furnished the information regarding Chief Seattle which appears in Costello's *The Siwash*. His term of office as Librarian of the University was for one year only, but I have been unable to gather any information in regard to his services in that capacity.

The first record I have been able to find in regard to books appears in the *House Journal* for 1865 where a Committee appointed to investigate the University has this to say: "The library is very small and of little value; but on account of the low state of funds of the University and the high price of books at present, we are of the opinion the interest of the University would not be advanced by a further expenditure for books."²

Two years later, on April 1, 1867, Mr. Whitworth as President of the University, presented a list of University property; also a report in relation to the library, cook stove, etc. He also made a statement of crockery taken away from the University boarding house.

"On motion it was ordered that the President cause the books in the library to be properly marked and numbered, and to allow no books to be taken out hereafter, except by the students or teachers in actual attendance, and that the President take such steps as he may deem necessary to recover all the books which are now missing, and to charge all books hereafter to the parties who may take them." Evidence that the President made an effort

² *Washington House Journal*, 1865, p. 151.

to secure the return of books is shown by the approval by the Board at the meeting of October 12, 1867, of a bill of \$3.00 to cover an advertisement in the *Seattle Gazette* asking for the return of "books missing from the Library".³

The first mention that I have discovered of the actual number of volumes is that to be found in the *Report of the Board of Regents for 1871* in which President Hall estimates the number at about three hundred and fifty volumes.⁴ The University grew but slowly. It was not until 1876, fifteen years after founding, that the first graduate received her diploma.

The library likewise grew slowly. President Anderson in 1881 reported to his Board: "In September, 1877, when the writer took charge, the library consisted of 162 bound volumes and no pamphlets; but now contains 436 bound volumes and 308 pamphlets. The increase has arisen from the following sources: Lost books found, books donated by friends, books purchased with money arising from a small library fee and fines, books published by the general government and obtained through Delegates Jacobs and Brents, and also reference books purchased with money appropriated by the Legislature in 1879. In addition to the University Library, students have access to some 1350 bound volumes and 500 pamphlets, placed in the keeping of the authorities of the University by the Seattle Library Association."⁵

The catalogue of the University for 1880 states that "Since the issue of the last *Catalogue*, there have been added to the Library one hundred and fifty volumes, including fifty valuable reference books." A sidelight to the character of the University and its standard of teaching may be seen in the following paragraph drawn from the same *Catalogue* (1880, p. 16) "The Institution aims to be parental in government, to insist upon a high standard of character and scholarship, and to teach simply the true and the right without bias for sect, party or infidel."

In the next year's Catalogue⁶ published in 1881, the following statement is made: "Until early in the last college year, one room sufficed to hold both Library and Cabinet. Now two rooms are necessary. Including the Seattle City Library, which has been given in charge to the University, students have access to 1800 bound volumes and 800 pamphlets. The Librarian, Mr. L. F. An-

³ *Washington House Journal*, 1867, pp. 104, 107.

⁴ *Washington House Journal*, 1871, p. 188.

⁵ *Report of the Board of Regents of the Territorial University of the Territory of Washington*, (Olympia: Bagley, 1881,) p. 11.

⁶ The Register for 1880-1881.

derson, will always be ready to gratefully acknowledge the receipt of any good book or pamphlet donated to the University Library." (Page 13) It is indicated in the same catalogue that a library fee of 25 cents per term was being charged.

Two years later, it is stated that "The shelving capacity of the Library has been largely increased during the present year and the books classified and systematically arranged. Several volumes have been added, so that now the students have access to about 2,000 volumes and 800 pamphlets and periodicals."⁷

The catalogue for 1885 gives the number of volumes as 2,500 and states that \$140 had been raised for the Library during the past year by means of a lecture course given in the University chapel. "Hereafter students and teachers will have access to the Library free of charge."⁸

The *Report of the Board of Regents* for 1887 gives the size of the library as 2500 bound volumes and 800 pamphlets and its value as \$3,200. The librarian was Emma Clark, and her annual salary was \$300.

In 1889, at the end of the territorial period, the size of the Library had grown to about 3,000 bound volumes and 1,000 pamphlets. We find that the Library had been receiving for several years an annual appropriation from the State of \$150.00. The Librarian in that year was Miss Claire Gatch, also a teacher of art. The salary of the office was \$100.00 per year.

Vancouver Catholic Library Association

The Report upon *Public Libraries in the United States* issued by the United States Bureau of Education in 1876 records but two libraries in Washington Territory having upwards of 300 volumes. The first of these was the Washington Territorial Library. The other library mentioned was that of the Holy Angels College which was established in 1865 by the Vancouver Catholic Library Association. Mrs. Marion M. Pirkey, Librarian of the Vancouver Public Library, has secured from Mr. James P. Clancy the following historical sketch. Mr. Clancy, who is still a resident of Vancouver, was the acting Librarian of Holy Angels College Library at the time of its closing in 1886. His account follows:

"With the passing of the grim recorder Time, and taking along most of those who may have had a hand in any of the activities

7 *Catalogue*, 1882-1883, p. 9.

8. *Catalogue*, 1884-1885, p. 18.

connected therewith, it is difficult for one of the present day to give exact data in regard to the organization and works of the above mentioned Library Association.

"With the starting of the Catholic Missionaries in their work in the early Northwest from the Hudson Bay days of 1825, came the call for education and literature, and activities were taken up by such historic characters as Bishop F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Fathers Manns, Brouillet, G. F. Fierens, and later Bishop E. Junger, Fathers L. DG. Schram, P. Poaps, F. Flohar and others, and the Association was duly organized, recognition of the same being officially made by the National Librarian at Washington, D. C., at that time, about the year 1865. Among the citizens assisting in the organization at the time may be found such pioneer business men and parishioners as Dr. D. Wall, P. O'Keane, Jno. O'Keane, P. Buckley, N. Du Puis, Jos. Brant, L. Burgey, M. O'Connell, J. D. Geoghegan, Jno. Walsh, Jos. Healey, Judge J. M. Denny, John McMullen, Jos. Petrain and many others.

"From the remnants of the old books now on hand and scant records left for investigation it appears that the library was a going concern and active about the years 1870 to its close in 1886, containing over 1000 volumes of current literature of the time, with a trend of course to religious writers and historical matters as well. The library was housed in a large two-room building immediately in the rear of the Bishop's residence on the grounds of the St. James Mission property, (the site today being on East 5th Street as it passes through the Post, Vancouver Barracks, about two blocks from Reserve Street, in Vancouver, Washington).

"Librarians in charge during the early years were chosen from among the school teachers and educators of the time; Rev. Father P. Poaps as instructor at the Holy Angels Academy College about 1875, and later the names of Benj. Wall and Jas. P. Clancy appear as acting librarians, up to the time of the closing of the library in 1886.

"Today there are about 350 volumes of the early library still intact and in good state of preservation stored away at the St. James Parish residence at Vancouver, Washington. These books are all properly labeled and numbered, and from lists of names found in records in some of them, show that the library had a good sized patronage among the citizens, who took much pride in the upkeep and interest in the Association. An inspection of the old volumes by authorities on the subject of libraries will, no

doubt, prove interesting and much historical data might prove available."

Walla Walla Library

Library service in Walla Walla began with the incorporation of the Walla Walla Library Association, which was organized in the same year as the Vancouver Association. The following statement is drawn from Frank T. Gilbert's *Historic Sketches of Walla Walla*:

"In 1865 the Walla Walla Library Association was incorporated, for the purpose of maintaining a library in this city; \$250 were subscribed for such purpose by those interested in the matter, and the membership fee was fixed at \$5.00. The officers were A. J. Thibodo, J. D. Cook, R. Jacobs, J. H. Lasater, L. J. Rector, and W. W. Johnson. They started in with 150 volumes, and held together for some time, but finally interest in the matter died out. It was revived in April, 1874, by organization of the Walla Walla Lyceum and Library Association, and a library was maintained for use of members of the society for several years. In December, 1877, a society was formed for the purpose of establishing a free reading room and library, an institution that had long been needed in the city. An exhibition of works of art, curios, and relics of interest kindly furnished by citizens was opened. In this way, and by means of sociables and various entertainments, considerable money was procured, and the library fully established. The ladies deserve special credit for their generous efforts in this work. The old association donated its books for a nucleus, to which many additions have from time to time been made. The library and reading room are open to the free use of the public."⁹

Seattle Library Association

In August of 1868, the Seattle Library Association was formed with Mr. James McNaught as President, Mr. L. S. Smith, Secretary and Mrs. H. L. Yesler, Librarian. This organization, like the ones at Steilacoom and Walla Walla, assumed an important place in the social and intellectual life of the community. Meetings were held frequently, many important lectures were given and literary entertainments were common. "Adult education" seems to have been the unwritten motto of this organization. Newspaper publicity was given in generous fashion. Fourteen news

⁹ Gilbert's *Historic Sketches of Walla Walla* (Portland: Walling, 1882,) page 340.

items regarding the work of the Association appear in the *Seattle Intelligencer* between the dates of August 10, 1868, and December 21, 1869.

In 1873, Dexter Horton gave \$500 conditional upon the securing of \$1000 in addition. The total income for that year thus amounted to over \$1800. There were 169 members, 278 volumes in the library and at one time \$1,515 cash on hand. A reading room was maintained well supplied with the magazines and newspapers of the time. Interest finally flagged, the membership ran down and in 1881 the Association suspended. The books were at that time "given to the University."¹⁰

In 1888, a newly organized Ladies Library Association was formed due to the backing of Leigh S. J. Hunt, then owner and editor of the *Post-Intelligencer*. Mr. Hunt subscribed \$1,000 and the ladies set to work with enthusiasm to raise funds. Mr. H. L. Yesler presented instead of a subscription a lot at third and Jefferson. This was deeded with the stipulation that the Association be known as the Yesler Public Library. Eight hundred dollars was raised by a ball, \$300 by a baseball game, and another large amount by an excursion to Victoria. The Library was established, though not upon the Yesler Triangle, and the way was thus paved for the tax supported public library made possible by the state law of 1890 and suitable provisions in the freeholders Charter of 1890. The later history of the Seattle Public Library is to be found in the *Annual Report of the Seattle Public Library* for 1915, pp. 6-10. Excellent accounts of the two Library Associations are to be found in an eight-page manuscript account written by Mr. M. J. Carkeek and deposited in the Seattle Public Library and the University of Washington Library, and in the unpublished history of Seattle by Thomas W. Prosch to be consulted in typewritten form in the libraries just mentioned.

An account of the development of library service in Seattle is not complete without reference to the

Reading Room of Mrs. Maynard

Mr. Thomas W. Prosch in his biography of Dr. and Mrs. Maynard¹¹ gives this record: "The home of the Maynards was in

¹⁰ Mr. Thomas W. Prosch in his *Chronological History of Seattle*, Part 1, page 190, says they were "given outright to the University". From such evidence as is available at this time, it would appear however that the books were turned over as a deposit with some thought of recalling them at a latter date. Mrs. Carkeek states that when the newly organized Ladies Library Association visited the University in 1888, few traces of them could be found.

¹¹ T. W. Prosch's *David S. Maynard and Catherine T. Maynard* (Seattle, 1906), page 78.

the middle of the block on the east side of First Avenue South between Main and Jackson streets. There they lived until his death in 1873, and there she lived a number of years longer. The last thing she did there was to start a free reading room. In a large, light apartment, opening on the street, she placed tables and chairs, procured books, magazines and newspapers, and invited the public to use them. For a year or more, in 1875-6, Mrs. Maynard kept the place open, clean, warm and pleasant. Her example had effect with others, the result being the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association by Dexter Horton and associates, who took from Mrs. Maynard the burden she had carried so long. The magnificent tree and fine fruit that have come from the seed thus planted by this poor woman are known to all. 'The widow's mite' was greater for good than the proud wealth of many of her townsmen."

The first public meeting which led to the establishment of the Y.M.C.A. was held at Mrs. Maynard's home on June 28, 1876. Several conferences were later held and on August 7, 1876, the Y.M.C.A. of Seattle was organized with Dexter Horton as its first President. At the end of the year new quarters were occupied but from the first a reading room and library has been one of its departments.

"The Tacoma Library" of Olympia

Another Association Library antedating 1876 was the "Tacoma Library" of Olympia. This was a library and reading room of very considerable importance in its day but I have little data regarding it. The following news item in regard to its first opening is quoted from the *Olympia Standard* in the *Seattle Intelligencer* of August 2, 1869:

"The New Library rooms were formally dedicated last Saturday evening. The library is open to the public every evening and Sundays. Visitors in town will find this an agreeable place to while away an hour".

The Dayton Library

One of the earliest libraries in Eastern Washington was located at Dayton. Mr. J. Orin Oliphant of Cheney, Washington, has supplied the following data in regard to this library:

"Another educational advantage here of which the people were justly proud was the free library and reading room, estab-

lished in the winter of 1876-7 by the Rev. E. A. McAllister and a few other liberal minded citizens. This little institution did not endure, though, and a more permanent one was founded in 1882 by the A.O.U.W. and the Ladies Educational Aid Society and several other organizations. Monthly dues of 50 cents were charged and the library flourished for years. Dr. S. B. L. Penrose of Whitman College, one of the early pastors of the Congregational Church here, chose many of the books and the remnants of this little library now preserved on the shelves of the reading room at the Dayton Commercial club show the distinctive taste used in the selection of those volumes."¹²

"Having no further use for the money, the balance of Dayton's smallpox fund, amounting to \$150.00, has been donated to the library of that place."¹³

The Spokane Public Library

Like other cities of Territorial days, Spokane made an early start toward an association library. The population of the town was but 350 in 1880, yet we find in the *Spokan Times* for January 1 of that year the following news note: "The Necktie Sociable given tonight, in Glover's Hall, promises to be a remarkably pleasant affair . . . The object of the entertainment is to make a beginning, with the funds raised, of a public library, a thing much needed in our midst. It would be a place where the young men and older ones about town could spend a pleasant evening, as often as they might choose, improving themselves. It is decidedly a praiseworthy object."

Progress is shown by the following news items, all taken from the *Spokan Times*:¹⁴

May 22, 1880: "An amateur entertainment will be given June 1, at Cornelius & Davis' Hall, for the benefit of the Spokan Library."

Nov. 27, 1880: "We are informed by Mr. Rima, secretary of the association, that at the last meeting Mr. and Mrs. Cook, of the Times office, were elected honorary members; also, that a committee was appointed to make necessary arrangements to give an entertainment on New Year's Eve, for the benefit of the school

¹² From an article on pioneer days at Dayton, written by Ernestine Peabody, and published in the *Spokane Spokesman-Review* of November 20, 1921.

¹³ From the *Palouse Gazette* of November 24, 1882.

¹⁴ As referred to under the Dayton Library, assistance has been rendered by Mr. Oliphant in this case also by searching the rare files of this earliest newspaper of Spokane.

fund. Miss Muzzy was elected librarian. About fifty dollars worth of new books have been ordered for the association."

March 3, 1881: "The Spokane Library has just received forty volumes of new books. Thirty additional volumes have been sent for."

The subsequent history of this library is to be found in outline form in the *Annual Report of the Spokane Public Library* for the year 1913, p. 23-24.

Colfax Academy Library Association

An example of cooperation between school and library is shown in the history of the Colfax Academy Library Association. Colfax Academy was established in 1878 and had an important influence in Eastern Washington as one of the first high schools north of the Snake River. In 1882, the school and the community united in establishing public library service. Again Mr. Oliphant's assistance is acknowledged as having supplied the following records of the time:

"Pursuant to a call issued by the principal of Colfax Academy, a goodly number of our citizens met in the Baptist Church on Monday evening last to perfect the organization of a library association. Mr. E. N. Beach was unanimously chosen President of the meeting, and W. J. Davenport Secretary, after which the body proceeded to adopt a suitable constitution and rules of order. Officers were elected as follows for the ensuing year: President, Dr. W. W. Beach; Vice President, Miss L. L. West; Secretary, W. J. Davenport; Treasurer, J. A. Perkins, Librarian, Miss L. L. West; Executive Committee of Three, W. A. Inman and F. W. Bunnell, the third supplied by the academy board of trustees, Rev. Geo. Campbell. Arrangements are being made to present a lecture and other varied exercises on the occasion of opening the library. Everything is propitious for a successful termination of the project thus started, and out of the \$312, previously subscribed for the purchase of books, \$112 was collected at this meeting. The object of this association is to furnish to those desiring good books to read an opportunity to secure them at a trifling cost. Any person may become a life member by paying into the treasury the sum of \$5, and an annual membership costs but \$2, thus enabling all to avail themselves of advantages to be had in no other way. The sum of \$300 has already been expended for books, and as soon as possible a public reading room will be

opened in connection with the library. The name of this body is the "Colfax Academy Library Association," and we say success to the undertaking, for it supplies a want long felt in this community. Everyone should lend a hand in forwarding this enterprise. Membership fees, either subscribed or otherwise, will be received by J. A. Perkins, treasurer."¹⁵

"The public library will be opened this afternoon for the first time. Hours from three until six o'clock. There are over three hundred volumes in the library."¹⁶

The Tacoma Public Library

The Tacoma Public Library dates its history from 1886. From a "Historical Statement," to be found in the official reports,¹⁷ the following information is gleaned:

"In the summer of 1886, Mrs. Grace R. Moore established in her home a subscription circulating library, the first public circulating library on Puget Sound, though the Steilacoom Library Association, organized in March 1858, had provided library facilities almost as public. It met a very definite need, even though Tacoma was in those days—to use her own words—"little more than a frontier town, with ungraded streets, uncleared lots and a small business district."

This library soon outgrew its original home, and by 1889 had won public favor to the point of warranting incorporation and a change of title from the "Mercantile Library of Tacoma" to "The Public Library." Partial public support was also then received. It occupied successively quarters in the Wilkeson, Gross and Uhlman buildings, Ball Block, and in 1893, the City Hall. In December of that year its trustees voted to present the library to the City of Tacoma, formal transfer being made in January, 1894."

CHARLES W. SMITH.

¹⁵ *Palouse Gazette* of December 1, 1882.

¹⁶ *Palouse Gazette* of February 16, 1883.

¹⁷ *Tacoma Public Library Annual Reports*, 1919, 1920, page 4.

SOME EARLY LIBRARIES OF OREGON

The Oregon State Library has in its possession the original schedules of the federal census for 1850, 1860 and 1870 which give most valuable and interesting information concerning early libraries in Oregon. In 1850, Clackamas County reported two libraries, the Territorial Library with 1,500 volumes, and the Multnomah (Multnomah Circulating Library) number of volumes not given; Clatsop County reported one Presbyterian Sunday School library of 200 volumes, and Clark and Lewis Counties reported that there were no libraries within their boundaries. In 1860, Clackamas County had none to report; Clatsop had two church libraries, a Presbyterian and a Methodist; Jackson had one of 100 volumes belonging to a Methodist Sunday School and a Masonic library of 100 volumes; Linn reported three private libraries, of 200, 350 and 1,000 volumes; Multnomah had three Sunday school libraries, the Episcopal and Congregational with 300 volumes each, the Methodist with 1,200 volumes, and also had 250 volumes belonging to a Female Seminary; Washington County reported one college library (Pacific University) with 1,500 volumes. The enumerator for Columbia County wrote "There are no public or private libraries in this county".

By 1870, libraries of all kinds had increased very materially. Nearly all counties had Sunday School and Church or Pastor's libraries. Grant and Marion counties reported Odd Fellows libraries, the former having 178 volumes, the latter, 800. Clatsop had a Masonic library with 118 volumes. There were College libraries in Benton County (Corvallis College) with 300 volumes; Clackamas County (probably Oregon City University), 100 volumes; Linn County (Albany College) with 1,000 volumes; and Washington County (Pacific University), 3,000. There were circulating libraries in Benton County, which had two subscription libraries with a total of 550 books; Clackamas, one subscription, with 50 books; Clatsop, one city library, with 1,161; Coos, 1 subscription, with 50; Multnomah, two subscription, with a total of 6,000 volumes, and Yam Hill with a subscription library of 40 volumes.

When the United States Bureau of Education published its *Public Libraries in the United States of America* in 1876, it gave the following for Oregon:

"Albany, Albany Collegiate Institute, 1,250 volumes and Young Ladies' and Gentlemen's Society, 300 volumes; Astoria, Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon, founded 1871, 600 volumes; Corvallis, Library Association, founded 1873, 350 volumes; Forest Grove, Pacific University and Tualatin Academy, founded 1853, 5,500 volumes; Portland, Bishop Scott Grammar and Divinity School, founded 1870, 3,500 volumes, Library Association, founded 1864, 7,785 volumes, St. Helen's Hall, founded 1869, 400 volumes; Salem, Oregon Natural History and Library Association, founded 1874, 400 volumes, State Library, founded 1850, 5,257 volumes, State Prison, 600 volumes, Willamette University, founded 1844, 2,000 volumes, and Willamette University Society libraries, 500 volumes."

There were many private libraries and the size of these was surprisingly large; Benton had 400, with a total of 50,000 volumes; Douglas, 12 and 3,000 volumes; Linn 60 and 8,000 volumes; Marion 60 and 10,000 volumes; Multnomah 1200 and 150,000 volumes; Polk, 19 and 10,000 Umatilla 12 and 4,000 volumes; Wasco, 8 and 2,505 volumes; Washington 16 and 7,400 volumes; Yam Hill, 300 and 15,000 volumes.

But there were libraries in Oregon before the census of 1850 and they were circulating libraries too, for the use of the community.

Hudson's Bay Company Library

The first circulating library on the Pacific coast was that of the Hudson's Bay Company officers at Vancouver. Dr. Tolmie, in a letter published in *Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions* for 1884, says: "By 1836, a circulating library of papers, magazines, and some books, set on foot by the officers, was in 'full blast'." He also says that books were bought from the Boston merchant captains who were buying furs on the coast.

Mention of this library is also made by T. C. Elliott in his "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader" which appeared in the *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, September, 1910:

"One further item regarding the three and one-half years on the coast is worth mentioning. It was then that the first circulating library of the Pacific coast was started. The record is that the Gentlemen of the coasting trade contributed to a fund and had brought from England the later books and magazines and circulated them from one post to another. In his journal Dr. Tolmie

speaks of receiving from Mr. Ogden the Life of Edmund Burke and Franklin's First Journey to the North."

Multnomah Circulating Library

The organization, about 1840, of the Multnomah Circulating Library at Willamette Falls (Oregon City) was an important event. Gray, in his *History of Oregon*, says of this:

"A consultation was held at the house of Gray to consider the expediency of organizing a provisional government. In it the whole condition of the settlement, the missions, and Hudson's Bay Company, were carefully looked at, and all the influences combined against the organization of a settler's government were fully canvassed. The conclusion was that no direct effort could succeed, as it had already been tried and failed . . . Two plans were suggested . . . The first was to get up a circulating library, and by that means draw attention and discussion to subjects of interest to the settlement and secure the influence of the Methodist Mission, as education was a subject they had commenced. We found no difficulty in the library movement from them, only they seemed anxious to keep from the library a certain class of light reading, which they appeared tenacious about. This was not the vital point with the original movers, so they yielded it. The library prospered finely; one hundred shares were taken at five dollars a share; three hundred volumes of old books collected and placed in this institution which was called the Multnomah Circulating Library; one hundred dollars were sent to New York for new books which arrived the following year."

The Multnomah Circulating Library, "a very good circulating library" as J. W. Nesmith called it in one of his letters, was incorporated by Act of the House of Representatives of the Provisional government, August 19, 1845, being the second corporation authorized in Oregon.

Senator Nesmith in an address before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1875 gives the following interesting anecdote:

"In the small collection of books at the Falls known as the Multnomah Library, I found what I had never heard of before, a copy of *Jefferson's Manual*, and after giving it an evening's perusal by the light of an armful of pitch knots, I found that there was such a thing in parliamentary usage as 'the previous question.'

"I had a bill then pending to cut off the southern end of Yamhill, and to establish the county of Polk, which measure had vio-

lent opposition in the body. One morning while most of the opponents of my bill were amusing themselves at 'horse billiards' in Lee's ten-pin alley, I called up my bill, and, after making the best argument I could, I concluded with: 'And now, Mr. Speaker, upon this bill I move the previous question.' Newell looked confused, and I was satisfied that he had no conception of what I meant; but he rallied, and, looking wise and severe (I have since seen presiding officers in Washington do the same thing) said: 'Sit down, sir! Resume your seat! Do you intend to trifle with the Chair! When you know that we passed the previous question two weeks ago? It was the first thing we done!' I got a vote, however, before the return of the 'horse billiard' players, and Polk County has a legal existence today, notwithstanding the adverse ruling upon a question of parliamentary usage."

This probably was the library mentioned by Thornton in *Oregon and California in 1848* when he gave as one of the attractions of Oregon City "a public library containing three hundred well-selected volumes."

The Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club formed in the winter of 1842-3 at Willamette Falls gave opportunity for its members to meet for discussion of topics of general interest.

Sunday School Libraries

The early missionaries soon developed a system of Sunday School libraries which helped in a way to meet the constant demand for books. Walling's *Illustrated History of Lane County* says of the First Baptist Church of Eugene:

"On April 16, 1864, we have the first mention of a Sabbath School when a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of forming a library."

The "Letters of the Reverend William M. Roberts, Third Superintendent of the Oregon Missions" frequently mention this subject. March 18, 1848, he wrote from Oregon City to the Rev. D. P. Kidder, Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as follows:

"At this time there are but two Sabbath schools really organized in this country under the care of our Church. One at this city with one Sup. 8 Teach. 48 Scholars & 150 volumes in the Library . . . There were a few vol. of Books in the Library when we arrived in the country but those reported above are the set furnished by the kindness of the board in the autumn of 1846. The

other school is at Salem and is held in the Oregon Institute. It has 2 Superintendents, 10 Teach., 40 Scholars, and upwards of 159 volumes in the Library . . . The donation of Books which we brought to this country were I think judiciously selected and will be of great advantage . . . The 10 sets of Library Books placed in my hands I have disposed of as follows, Sabbath School at San Francisco uper [sic] California, 1 Set of 150 vols. another at this place in the School and another at the school at Salem. It is possible that we may break one or two of the sets for the sake of getting Books to place in the hands of Children in various parts of the country where as yet we can have no school. The rest will be reserved for new schools as they may be formed in various parts of the country."

A year later, February 14, 1849, he again wrote to the Corresponding Secretary:

"Many persons enquire of us for books. They hear of the libraries of the A. T. Soc. [American Tract Society] and of the Harper & C and they wish to send money by us to buy some of these Libraries. Now we tell them we have libraries and books of the very best kind, and cheap too and moreover that we will have some brought out to this country as soon as possible."

Library Association of Portland

The Library Association of Portland was organized, in 1864, largely through the efforts of L. H. Wakefield. Seeing the need of such an organization, Mr. Wakefield began a canvass for subscriptions, and having secured \$2,500.00 in a few days, a call was issued for a meeting of the subscribers. This meeting was held in the U. S. District Courtroom January 12, 1864, and Honorable Matthew P. Deady was made president of the temporary organization. It was decided to call the organization the Mercantile Library Association; but this was later changed to the Library Association of Portland. On February 20, another meeting was held, and directors chosen, who at a meeting on March 3 elected W. S. Ladd, president, and William Strong vice-president. Dues were placed at \$3.00 a quarter and there was an initiation fee of \$5.00 which was reduced to \$2.00 in 1867 and abolished in 1869.

Having secured rooms on the second floor of the Stark building and having money available for equipment, the officers ordered a long list of periodicals and forwarded \$2,000.00 to Judge Nelson and J. A. Hatt of New York City for the purchase of books.

They selected 1400 volumes and forwarded them by way of the Isthmus. They arrived in November and were placed on the shelves by Harvey W. Scott, the first librarian, who served until the following May when he resigned to begin his connection of many years with the *Oregonian*.

In 1869, through the generosity of Mr. Ladd and Mr. Tilton the association was able to occupy rooms over the bank at the Southwest corner of First and Stark streets, and through renewals of the offer continued to occupy the same quarters, free of rent, until June 1893, a gift of great importance to a struggling institution.

Judge Deady early suggested a plan for the sale of forty or more perpetual memberships to be sold at \$250.00 apiece and succeeded in procuring signatures of 101 subscribers and in raising a fund of \$25,250.00.

The early history of the Association was filled with financial difficulties. At the end of the first year, it owed for current expenses \$684.25, but through special effort most of this was raised between the end of the year and the first of March. The membership increased gradually but it was not unusual for members to give their names but never pay any money.

By 1867, the Association owned about 2,000 volumes, many of them public documents, the gifts of Oregon's representatives in Congress. An inventory taken February 22, 1867, showed sixty or seventy volumes missing, probably stolen.

The report for 1869 stated that through an arrangement with the Council, the librarian was about to assume the duties of meteorological observer for the city, for which he was to receive \$15.00 a month. The reports of the librarian for 1870 and 1874 also contain his report as meteorological observer and give the readings of the barometer, and the records of snow, rain and temperature for the year. Judge Deady thought it extremely important to keep and publish an authentic weather record of our "wholesome, temperate, and agreeable climate".

Pacific University, Forest Grove

One of the most interesting of the early libraries is that of Pacific University at Forest Grove. In 1852, when Sidney Harper Marsh was offered the presidency of the new institution, he was given a year in which to make special preparation for his work and gather books for the library. The library had been

started before his arrival in Oregon, and when the charter was granted giving full collegiate privileges to "Tualatin Academy and Pacific University", one thousand volumes were in the library, the result of the efforts of Dr. Atkinson, who had been sent out by the Home Missionary Society of the Congregational Church. The first book, a *History of Harvard College*, was given in 1859 by Rev. C. S. Damon, seaman's chaplain at Hawaii.

The *Souvenir Bulletin, Articles Exhibited by Pacific University at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909* has this to say of their valuable collection:

"Many authors gave of their works, Longfellow, Rufus Choate, Edward Everett Hale. The most interesting collection came from the family of Rev. Jedidiah Morse, for thirty years a leader in geographical knowledge, who gave his extensive collection of works of geography and travels. From this family came Ptolemy's *Universal Geography* printed in 1542, and for the physical laboratory the sounder, receiver and key used by S. F. B. Morse in developing the electric telegraph."

This library also contained important works from the printing press of the Oregon Mission, and some of the choice works of the early printers—Aldus, Elzevir, and Plantin.

Albany College

The Library of Albany College was founded at the annual meeting held on January 24, 1868. Books belonging to the Albany Library and Literary Institute were donated, and a room in the College building chosen as a library, which was to be free to all the donors, members of the Institute. By the time the decennial census was taken in 1870, Albany was able to report 1,000 volumes in its college library.

Corvallis

Articles of incorporation for the Corvallis Library Association were filed in the office of the County Clerk, December 24, 1872. The articles state the Association "shall endure fifty years" and that its purpose and object "is to purchase and possess a library of a miscellaneous character for general reading on all subjects of a literary, scientific and entertaining description, to have and possess a room suitable for the same." The capital stock was five thousand dollars gold coin and the shares were "fifty dollars gold coin." How long this Association lasted is not known—the

Articles of Incorporation gave fifty years as the duration of the corporation but some time before 1880, probably in the late 1870's the books were given to the Adelpian Literary Society of Corvallis College, which in 1885 became the Oregon Agricultural College.

The present Corvallis Public Library is an outgrowth of the work of the "Coffee-Club" which was started some years later.

University of Oregon

When the University of Oregon opened in 1876, it was entirely without library facilities, but during the second year students of the institution through their two literary societies purchased a collection of about 500 volumes from the Eugene Library Association, and arranged to care for them. The Eugene Library Association had been formed on February 7, 1874, and opened its doors to the public April 23 of the same year. While it had an auspicious start, it lasted only a short time.

The University collection increased very slowly and was inadequate to meet the needs of the school. Finally Henry Villard came to the rescue and his offer of help is given in a letter to the Board of Regents, dated October 25, 1881, and printed in Walling's *Illustrated History of Lane County* in which Mr. Villard states:

"2nd. That I will give one thousand dollars for the foundation of a Library for the University. I will personally undertake to have the most suitable works of references selected by competent experts."

In 1883, Mr. Villard gave property valued at \$50,000 to constitute a perpetual endowment fund for the University and stipulated that from the annual income not less than four hundred dollars was to be expended regularly for building up the library. For eighteen years this four hundred dollars was the main source of funds as the State made no appropriation.

Territorial Library

Oregonians early realized the importance of a collection of books for official use. The minutes of the public meeting of the inhabitants of Oregon Territory held on July 5th, 1843, printed in the *Oregon Archives*, contains the following, "Moved and carried, to purchase several law books, of Jas. O'Neill, to be the property of this community" but the amount paid and the titles of the books are not given.

In the enabling act of August 14, 1848, Congress appropriated \$5,000 for a library to be maintained at the seat of government. J. Quinn Thornton in his memorial to Congress, writes:

"Your memorialist prays that the sum of ten thousand dollars may be appropriated, to be expended in the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, secretary, legislature, judges, marshal, district attorney, and such other persons, and under such regulations as may be prescribed by law. The fact that the inhabitable part of the Territory is so remote from the seat of the national government, and that access cannot be had to any books or libraries, is a circumstance rendering it expedient to make this appropriation much larger than might, under other circumstances, be necessary. The necessary books of reports in the departments of law alone would cost a large sum, to say nothing of books upon the science of government, general politics, history, education, agriculture, horticulture, &c."

Samuel Royal Thurston, first delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory, was much interested in the library and in the diary kept while in Washington frequently mentions the documents which he has secured for the Territorial Library—charts of the battlefields in Mexico, patent reports, publications of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, narrative and scientific works of the Coast Survey being among the publications. His diary for June 24, 1850, has the following item: "Also wrote a letter to J. McBride suggesting to him the idea of circulating libraries in Oregon. Wrote to Linn City on the same subject."

F. G. Young in his "Financial History of Oregon" which appeared in the *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1907, gives the following account of the money appropriated:

"The five-thousand dollar appropriation for a territorial library incorporated in the act organizing the Territory was quite naturally placed at the command of the newly appointed governors as soon as they qualified, and while yet in the East, so that they could more conveniently make suitable purchases of books. The record of the disbursement of this library fund is found in communications by Governors Lane and Gaines, respectively, in response to resolutions by the Territorial House of Representatives enquiring as to what disposition had been made of this money.

"On July 26, 1849, Governor Lane, in reply to the request made on the fifth day of the first session of the first House, said, 'that books to the amount of two thousand dollars have been purchased in New York, and shipped for Oregon last winter, and

that the balance of the appropriation will be applied, as provided by law of Congress.' On December 8, 1852, Governor Gaines had a similar inquiry made of him to which he responded as follows:

"I received from the treasury of the United States \$3,000.00, which was [in]vested in books and maps, and placed in a room fitted up for the purpose in Oregon City, and delivered nearly two years since to Mr. J. Turner, the librarian elected by the Legislative Assembly, together with a catalogue of the entire purchase, since which time, I have exercised no control whatever over the library.' A voucher from the comptroller of the Treasury accompanied this statement.

"In the quarrel between Gov. Gaines and the territorial legislature over the validity of the act of the latter locating the seat of government, the penitentiary, and the territorial university, the retention of the library at Oregon City—the original seat of government—it made a subject of complaint by the legislature in its memorial to Congress in December 1851. In this memorial the legislature asked for permission for themselves to elect their Governor, Secretary and judges."

The *Biennial Report of the Oregon State Library for 1880* contains a brief history of the library and its librarians, who usually were students using this means of paying their expenses while studying law. Several of these later became prominent in the State. The first Librarian was Aaron E. Wait, afterwards Chief Justice of Oregon, who served two years. Others who held the position for terms, usually brief, were James D. Turner, Ludlow Rector, Chester N. Terry, Milton Shannon, F. S. Hoyt and B. F. Bonham during territorial times, and J. C. Peebles, Geo. J. Ryan, and S. C. Simpson, brother of Sam Simpson, during the early days of statehood.

The Territorial Library originally was located at Oregon City, then the seat of government, but the Legislative Assembly of 1851-52 ordered the librarian to move the library from Oregon City to Salem, on or before January 1, 1852. That this was not done before this date is shown in the report of the librarian for 1852, which contains a letter from Adams & Co., dated September 27, 1852, stating that they had been holding in their office for two months a shipment of books for the Territorial Library which had been delivered to the librarian at Oregon City who refused to pay the freight charges amounting to \$39.00.

The *Report of the Librarian for 1854* shows "1,735 volumes of miscellaneous and law books in the library." In 1855, between

Christmas and New Year, the capitol building was burned and most of the library destroyed, the only books saved being the few in circulation. The Legislature which convened in the fall of 1856 passed a joint memorial asking Congress for an appropriation of \$20,000 but Congress granted only \$500.

After the first the small collection of books which grew very slowly was moved from one place to another, occupying in turn the Old Court House, the Rector House, the Opera House and the Grover Building, until in 1878 it was removed to the new capital building.

During Territorial days Congress had complete control of the library. A salary of \$250.00 a year was paid until 1855, when it was raised to \$500.00 but when Oregon had been admitted to statehood and the State Legislature assumed control, the salary was fixed at \$150.00 a year. From the fire in 1855 until 1880, only \$4,100 had been appropriated for the purchase of books, but the librarian in 1880 reported 9,283 volumes in the library, mostly law books and public documents, with the *American Encyclopedia*, *Zells Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. By 1878 it had assumed such importance that there were twenty-two applicants for the position of librarian.

The "Report of the Librarian and a Catalogue of the Territorial Library" are published as appendices to the *Journals of the Legislature* in 1852-54. It is interesting to note the character of the books, and to see that from the beginning it was thought necessary to have in the State a good collection of books of various subjects. Some of the titles contained in the catalogue for 1852 in addition to the law texts and reports, are Goldsmith's *Works*, *U.S. Dispensatory*, *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Schiller's Thirty Year's War*, *Darwin's Voyages*, *American Ornithology*, *Geography of the Heavens* and *American Architect*. The catalogue for 1854 contains several books on medicine, several astronomies, the *American Rifle*, by Chapman, *Manual of Practical Assaying*, *Angler's Guide*, *Angler Complete*, by Walton, *Bible and Gipsies in Spain*, by Barrow [Borrow], *Birds of America* (105 pamphlets), *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, many books of poems, the works of Scott and Cooper, and some other fiction—on the whole a well selected general library.

During the early days of Statehood, the librarians usually emphasized the need of larger and more regular appropriations to fill the many gaps in the collection. In 1872, the Librarian S. C. Simpson, in closing his report says:

"In conclusion, permit me to suggest that the State Library is deserving of more attention at the hands of the Legislature than it has yet received. The foundation of a good Library ought to be one of the first concerns of a young state. . . . But Oregon hasn't even the nucleus of such a Library. This is, in fact, one of the most constantly and consistently neglected institutions of the State. . . . It is inferior to the library of many a respectable village in the Eastern States. . . . There is no reason in the world why Oregon should occupy the bad eminence of having the poorest Library of any State in the Union. The Library has no value at all except as a Law Library. Yet even that department is scantily furnished. . . . There are only three full sets of Reports in it—those of New York, Mass. & Ky." Mr. Simpson then suggested that regular biennial appropriations be made and after the Law Library had been adequately equipped that "the appropriation might then be continued and applied to the purchase of books for a miscellaneous department."

In reviewing this history of the early State and Territorial Libraries, it is most interesting to note the emphasis that, from the start, has been placed on the desirability of a circulating library for the people of the State: in 1843, through the purchase of books from Jas. O'Neill; in 1848, by Thornton in his memorial to Congress; in 1850, by Thurston in his letter to J. McBride; by those who selected the books for the Territorial Library, and by the librarians who heard the call from the people and did their best to bring it to the attention of the Legislature.

MIRPAH G. BLAIR.

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

In reviewing the earliest library movement in British Columbia one must cast his mind back to the days when the western portion of British North America was little more than a huge fur reserve, and the only contact with civilization was through the fur trading posts scattered at great distances throughout this vast territory.

The fur trading companies realised, just as we do today, that the supply of reading matter was an essential part of the equipment of these small communities.

The Hudson's Bay Company had so-called libraries at all their district offices, the size of the library depending largely on the situation of the district office. For instance, York Factory, Norway House, Fort Vancouver and Victoria had quite large libraries because each ship carrying settlers or servants was supplied with a library and was instructed to turn the library over to the fur trade on arrival at its destination. After these books had all been read they were passed on to other districts; for instance, those coming on ships to York Factory went to Norway House, Winnipeg, thence up the big Saskatchewan and down the McKenzie River. Those landed from ships arriving at this coast, after being read at Victoria, went on to Port Simpson and Fort St. James, after which they were distributed to smaller posts; a few here and a few there.

The classes of books supplied covered all branches of knowledge, the largest percentage being fiction. In addition to books the Hudson's Bay Company sent out the *London Times* and other leading journals for circulation among its servants, but as can be readily understood, owing to the limited means of communication, these papers were often a year old before they were received at some of the distant posts.

According to W. F. Tolmie the first circulating library on the Pacific Slope had its inception at Fort Vancouver in 1833. The idea of establishing a circulating library among the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company having been conceived by Mr. Anderson and Chief-trader Donald Manson, the suggestion was readily approved by Dr. McLaughlin and James Douglas. A subscription library was formed and successfully operated for ten years or until the year of founding Fort Victoria in 1843, the field of operations of the Hudson's Bay Company having been removed owing to the uncertainty of the outcome of the Oregon boundary dispute.

The British Government made a grant of exclusive privilege on Vancouver Island upon condition that settlement would be encouraged, but although the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island was created in 1849, there were very few inhabitants until 1858 when gold was discovered on the Fraser River, bringing about a great influx of miners and others. With this sudden rush of population and for the purpose of maintaining law and order a separate Colony was formed on the mainland. The two Colonies united under the name of Colony of British Columbia in 1866.

During all this time, or until 1860, the inhabitants of the Colony were very little better off for library facilities, than the fur traders; in fact, the first newspaper in British Columbia was not published until June 1858.

As in most places the Mechanics or Literary Institutes became the forerunner of the Public Library movement. In Victoria a Mechanics Literary Institute was opened on December 15, 1864, with about 250 volumes, the subscription being \$1 per month, \$10 per annum and \$50 life membership. As indicating the benefits to be derived from this Institute the following is quoted from an advertisement in a local paper:—

“An Institution tending to the advantage both of the individual and of the community at large to diminish crime and to diffuse a healthy moral tone among those who are the bone and muscle, the sinew and fibre of the infant Colony.”

It may be mentioned that one of the first visitors to the Institute was Charles Kean, the noted English actor, who happened to be playing in Victoria at the time.

The collection was removed to the City Hall about 1880 where it remained until the new Carnegie Library was opened in 1904.

Another Literary Institute on Vancouver Island was one located at Nanaimo, the center of the coal mining industry. It was founded in 1862 in connection with St. Paul's Church and was commonly known as “St. Paul's Literary Institute,” and the constitution called for its supervision by its officiating minister. The members considered this too denominational, and had it moved to Messrs. Gordon and Blessing's Building on Commercial Street, the name being changed to the Nanaimo Literary Institute. In November 1864, Governor Kennedy laid the foundation stone of a new building. It was a two-storied structure and was erected by money raised at concerts, lectures, etc., and by voluntary contributions of the inhabitants. It contained Reading and Committee Rooms, Public Hall for concerts, etc. Mr. Mark Bate, an early pioneer

of the district, and to whom I am indebted for much of this information, served as President for a lengthy period. Samuel Gough, late City Clerk of Nanaimo was Secretary for nearly twenty years. The Institute Building was acquired by the Corporation for Municipal purposes in 1886 and with the addition of about 20 feet to its length the building still serves as the City Hall.

In regard to the Mainland of British Columbia, the New Westminster Library has an interesting history insofar that what formed the nucleus of that library was brought out by the main body of the Royal Engineers who sailed from England on the *Thames City* in 1858. The books were selected by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton and purchased by the officers and men. Several books were donated by Queen Victoria, Lady Franklin and the Duke of Westminster. The Queen gave a handsome volume of the speeches of the Prince Consort. Lord Lytton gave a cash contribution. The collection which was valued at £500 was housed at the Club of the Royal Engineers Camp, and when this famous corps was disbanded in November, 1863, the library was handed over to the citizens of New Westminster and transferred to the old Mint Building where a Mechanics Institute was established. About 1890, the books were removed to enable the wooden building to be torn down and replaced by a brick one, where the City Hall now stands. The building had several stores on the ground floor and the library upstairs. The library continued its usefulness until the great fire of September 10, 1898, swept this building and library out of existence. Only the books in the hands of readers whose homes escaped the flames and the "Queen's Book" which Alderman Johnston rescued at some personal risk were saved. In 1899, a library committee was formed and an appeal made to start a new library. Provision was made for this when the new City Hall was built and here it was housed until the new Carnegie Building was erected.

The mining activities in the Cariboo district in the sixties attracted quite a large number of miners and others and in the natural trend of development the want of a library was soon felt. In June, 1865, a reading room and circulating library was established at Camerontown, one of the three camps on Williams Creek in the Cariboo Mining district. John Bowron was Librarian. Apparently with the intention of distinguishing this learned institution from the establishment carried on by Ben Lichtenstein who not only ran a circulating library but made public the fact that he was also the vendor of choice Havanna cigars, pen knives, per-

fumery and wax matches at 75 cents per dozen, the circulating library changed its name to Cariboo Literary Institute. At the first of October, 1866, the Library contained 437 volumes and numbered 104 subscribers. The average circulation being 60 volumes per week. The reading room was supplied with 14 weekly and 2 semi-weekly newspapers, also the following magazines: and reviews:—*Blackwoods*, *Harpers*, *London Quarterly*, *North British*, *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Review*. The Government presented Black's *Atlas of the World*, Lewis' *American Sportsman* and Burton's *Cyclopaedia of Wit and Humor*. (Probably the latter volume inspired Sawney to write his Cariboo rhymes).

We are informed that the Library consisted of works on Religion, Science, History, Poetry in addition to fiction and the reference section contained Worcester's *Large Pictorial Dictionary*, Ure's *Dictionary of the Arts, Manufactures and Mines*, Lippincott's *Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World* and Homan's *Cyclopaedia of Commerce*. The terms of subscription were \$2 per month or \$5 per quarter. Single volumes were loaned at 50 cents per volume with \$1 deposit. Persons not subscribers who visited the reading room and made use of books or papers were charged 25 cents for each visit. The Institute was open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.

In order to give some idea of the district and condition of the Community served by this mental outfit it may be mentioned that Williams Creek is two miles long with a population in 1865 of 2,000 men, divided into three camps, Richfield, Barkerville and Camerontown. The population was housed in stately dwellings ranging in size from seven feet by nine feet to eight feet by ten feet, and from eight to ten feet high, in many of which half a dozen of hardy, honest miners were domiciled. Camerontown where the Institute was located obtained its name from the well known miner "Cariboo" Cameron, who struck it rich at this point in 1862, the mine yielding \$1,000 to the foot.

In regard to the establishment of Public Libraries in Vancouver, I cannot do better than quote the account as given by Mr. Harry Cotton, who says:

"Credit for the establishment of a public library in Vancouver is mainly due to the late Father Clinton, for many years the devoted rector of St. James Church. Realizing that the young men, who, in the early days, constituted the greater portion of Vancouver's inhabitants, had no place in which to spend their leisure time, outside the numerous saloons, Father Clinton, in 1887, conceived the

idea of starting a public readingroom and library. He broached the subject to some of the leading citizens of the time, all of whom promised the movement hearty support.

"Quarters were secured on the upper floor of a two story brick building, known as 136 Cordova street west, which was then in the centre of the business section. This building, erected soon after the Great Fire of '86, was demolished last year.

"It was proposed that the library should be supported by public donations and a monthly subscription of 50 cents. At the start the institution was fortunate in securing some 400 or 500 books from the Hastings Literary Institute, whose origin dated from the early days when the only settlements on Burrard Inlet were around the old Moodyville and Hastings mills. For the benefit of the employees, each of these mills provided a reading-room.

"With the springing up of Vancouver many employees left the vicinity of the mill and usefulness of the reading-room became a thing of the past. It was accordingly agreed that the library should be donated to the new Vancouver institution.

"The opening of the library and reading-room took place early in December, 1887, and at a meeting held in that month the following officers were appointed: President, Rev. H.G.F. Clinton; Treasurer, E.V. Bodwell; Secretary, Dr. Bodington; Librarian, George Pollay; Executive Committee, J.C. Keith, M. H. Hirschberg, J. Calister, H. P. McCarney, Father Fay and Ainslie J. Mouat; Trustees H. Abbott, R.H. Alexander and F.C. Cotton.

"After a year's trial it was found that owing to the small fee the library was not patronized by those for whom it was founded. So in April, 1889, application was made to the Council for a grant and \$250 was donated, this being the first civic appropriation for library purposes.

"In 1890, Mr. George Pollay, who had gratuitously acted as Librarian from the start, resigned that position owing to business engagements, although he continued to take a deep interest in the Library and was for many years a member of the Board. Mr. Pollay died at Discovery, Atlin, in 1912. His widow is still a resident of Vancouver, and lives at 743 Eighteenth avenue east.

"The Council of this period was induced to assist the Library more liberally and an annual grant of \$2,000 was authorized. It was decided to engage a regular Librarian and the choice fortunately fell on the late Mr. Edwin Machin, an English lawyer, who had just arrived in the city with his wife and daughter, the latter being now the wife of Mr. Herbert Beeman, Assistant Secretary

of the Board of Trade. The Council also from this date appointed a library committee from citizens interested in its work.

"Too much credit cannot be given to Mr. and Mrs. Machin for their work in the early and struggling days of the library. Although the salary for several years was only a miserable pittance of \$65 per month, the Library was kept open morning, noon and night, Mr. Machin being relieved by his wife and daughter. When they assumed charge the Library shelves were almost bare and the civic appropriation was too small to permit of any extensive purchases. But by begging books from friends in this country and in England, Mr. and Mrs. Machin obtained sufficient to make the institution something more than just a library in name.

"In 1893 the City Council appointed two Aldermen to the Board, Aldermen Salsbury and Towler, which probably accounted for the increased appropriation of \$3,600. The library quarters had for some time been too small, so in June, 1893, a move was made to 169 Hastings Street west. This building is now occupied by a beer parlor and the Astor Hotel, but was originally intended for a very different purpose, having been erected by the Y.M.C.A. which, however, lost it a short time later.

"The purchase of a central site and erection of a modern library were frequently discussed. For some years the late Andrew Carnegie had been building libraries in the United States and had included a few Canadian cities in his list. A suggestion was made that Vancouver should approach the wealthy iron-master and in 1901 this was done.

"Who first made the suggestion was never really settled despite a somewhat heated newspaper controversy, but the general opinion was that Mr. A. Allayne Jones, who is still a resident here, deserved the credit. Anyway a formal request for a grant was addressed to Mr. Carnegie on February 28, 1901, to which he replied on March 6, as follows: If the city of Vancouver will furnish a suitable site and agree to spend \$5,000 a year to maintain a library, I shall be glad to give \$50,000 towards the erection of a building.

"The offer having been accepted, the next move was to secure a site and on this point a wide diversity of opinion existed. Many today, especially residents of the West End and Kitsilano, complain that the site is not central, but the matter was settled by the vote of the citizens. Two sites were voted on, the present location and lots 11, 12 and 13, blocks 26 of 541. The latter lots are at the southwest corner of Pender and Hamilton Streets and are now

occupied by the I.O.O.F. Hall and Board of Trade rooms. On election day, August 5, 1901, the East End and Mount Pleasant voters turned out in force and piled up 746 votes for the present site, while only 407 votes were mustered for the Pender street location. The plans of G.W. Grant, a well-known architect, whose death was recently recorded, were accepted and the foundation stone laid under Masonic auspices. But as everything had to be submitted to Mr. Carnegie, progress was slow and it was not until late in 1903 that the building was opened.

"Mr. Machin continued to act as Librarian until January 5, 1910, when illness resulting from a fall from a street car caused his resignation, which was received with the greatest regret. Mrs. Machin continued to hold office as Assistant Librarian for some years until ill-health compelled her to give up a task in which she had taken such a great interest. Mr. Machin was succeeded as librarian by A. E. Goodman, who held the position for a few months and he in turn by R.W. Douglas, who resigned about eighteen months ago, at which time Mr. E.S. Robinson the present librarian was appointed."

While I am only dealing with the older libraries of the Province, mention might be made of the finely equipped library housed at the University of British Columbia, and under the energetic supervision of its Librarian, Mr. John Ridington, it is destined to become a large factor in library service in the Province.

To return to the capital city, Victoria, we have the Provincial Library which really antedates all other libraries in the Province of British Columbia. We find that as far back as 1863 the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island voted \$1,000 for the formation of a Parliamentary Library. But as early as 1849 the first Governor of the Colony, Mr. Richard Blanshard, had brought a small library out with him from England, and the records show that it cost £51.8.6.

At first there was no regular Librarian for the Legislative Library. The books were kept in a small room adjoining the Assembly Hall and Members of the Legislature helped themselves. Such a system of course could only result in confusion and the loss of many volumes.

From 1886-1888, Mr. Wm. Atkins had charge of the Library during the Session, and from thence till 1893 Mr. Joseph Bridgman held the position. The first permanent appointment was made in 1893 when Mr. R. E. Gosnell became Provincial Librarian. The Library at this time only contained about three thousand volumes, and

these were principally Parliamentary papers. Mr. Gosnell extended the scope of the Library very much, paying particular attention to the collection of material relating to the history of the Province, and thus laying the foundation of what was destined to become later a very important department of the Government.

Mr. E.O.S. Scholefield was appointed assistant to Mr. Gosnell in 1894, and in 1898 to the chief position, which he held until his death in 1919, and was succeeded by J. Forsyth. During Mr. Scholefield's tenure of office the votes by the Legislature were larger than the early days, and he was able to add over 50,000 volumes. Like his predecessor, he also specialized in books and other material bearing on the early history of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest, and it has been asserted by experts that this great mass of materials is perhaps the finest collection extant insofar as this region is concerned.

The Library is primarily a reference institution for the use and benefit of the Legislative Assembly and Government Departments, but during recess it is thrown open to the public from 9 till 5, with the exception of Saturday, when it is closed at 1 o'clock.

The resources of the Library cover a wide range of subjects embracing over 177,000 volumes covering all departments of knowledge. In addition to books there are several thousands of pamphlets and unbound material. Of book rarities mention might be made of the Shakespeariana collection, which includes a copy of the rare original second Folio of Shakespeare, but as already stated it is in books and pamphlets relating to the history of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest that we have specialized.

So heavy have been the demands for information on points of legislative interest that it has been found necessary to appoint a special assistant in order to facilitate the gathering together and digesting of documents, papers and other materials dealing with the experiences of other governments and states with regard to legislation already in force or about to be introduced.

For several years there has been a steady increase in the number of people making use of the Library. The total number of books issued at the enquiry desk during the past year was 48,343 volumes, as compared with 44, 181 in the previous year, an increase of 4,162 volumes. These figures of course do not take into account the extensive use made of the open shelf collection.

The first Libraries Act in British Columbia was passed in 1891. It was entitled "The Free Libraries Act" and made provision for the establishment of a library in any incorporated municipality

upon petition of 100 city electors and the passing of a By-law with the assent of the electors.

The control of the library was vested in a Board of Management consisting of the Mayor or Reeve, three city councillors and three appointed by the School Board, or Board of Education. The rate not to exceed one half of a mill in the dollar upon assessed value of all rateable real property.

The foregoing act as will be noted made no provision for starting libraries in the smaller districts because of the want of an organization to aid those willing and anxious to undertake such work, no library commission or organiser.

This defect was remedied by the passing of the Public Libraries Act in 1919 which provided for the appointment by the Government of a Public Libraries Commission consisting of three persons in addition to the Secretary or Organiser, who would co-operate with Library Associations and Library Boards on matters of administration of Public Libraries and operate a system of Travelling Libraries for unorganized and sparsely populated districts.

Ten or more persons in any locality in the Province may form a Public Library Association for the purpose of maintaining a Public Library in that locality. The municipal By-law can be passed upon petition of 100 electors for population over 5,000, the Board to consist of the Mayor and two, four or six other persons elected and appointed by the Municipal Council and the rate to be levied to be left to the Council.

From 1898 until the passing of the 1919 Act, the Travelling Libraries formed a department of the Provincial Library. An amendment in 1920 to the Provincial or as it was called the "Legislative Library and Bureau of Statistics Act, 1894", power was given to the Public Libraries Commission to borrow books from the Provincial Library in order to supplement their service.

A few years ago regret might have been expressed that the library movement had not been general throughout the Province but with the passing of the latest Act rapid progress has been made in establishing libraries in the smaller towns and the general improvement may be credited in a large degree to the activities of the British Columbia Library Association.

J. FORSYTH

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE BOSTON IN 1803

The story of John Jewitt, one of the survivors of the *Boston*, has appealed strongly to all lovers of adventure since 1815 when it first appeared in narrative form. His account of the capture of the *Boston* in March, 1803, and of his life for three years as a prisoner of Maquinna, the head chief of the Nootka Indians, is a root source for both the historian and the ethnologist. But little is known of the circumstances surrounding the loss of the vessel beyond what Jewitt has written. The Indians gave a version of the sad affair to Captain Rowan of the *Hazard*, which differs in some particulars; but, at any rate, it seems plain that the motive was the not infrequent combination of present insult and vicarious revenge for antecedent insult.

The account reproduced herewith is the first published information regarding the disaster, together with a short note of the arrival of the *Lydia* in Boston, and the statement issued by her commander, Captain Samuel Hill. These were obtained from the files of old Boston newspapers in the Widener Memorial Library at Harvard University. Captain Hill's statement was, it is presumed, obtained largely from Jewitt. It will be found to supplement in small details the account in Jewitt's rare *Journal* and in his well known *Narrative*.

It will be observed that the first news of the capture of the *Boston* was published a little more than a year after the occurrence, and also that it contains no reference to any survivors. This information, doubtless, was carried from the Northwest Coast to Canton in the fall of 1803 by one of the trading vessels and thence reached Boston. The ships usually left China in December or January and the voyage home ordinarily occupied about four months. More particulars must have arrived later, for Captain Hill told Jewitt that before he sailed from Boston it was known that there were two survivors and that Messrs Amory, the owners of the ill-fated ship, had offered a reward for their release.

The first short note of the loss of the *Boston* contains two odd errors. It gives the name of James Tillebrown as carpenter; but the carpenter was Adam Siddle of Hull, England, and the

joiner was Philip Brown of Cambridge, Massachusetts; the two surnames would appear to have been imperfectly combined. Again it mentions William Cowell as boatswain; but there was no person of that name on the ship; the nearest approach is William Caldwell, of Boston, an A B; the boatswain was Edward Thompson. Of the crew of twenty-seven, ten were from the United States; the remainder were principally English with a smattering of other races.

The notice of the arrival of the *Lydia* states that she was one hundred and twenty-three days from Canton; but Jewitt in his *Narrative* says one hundred and fourteen days from China. If she really brought sea-otter skins to Boston, as the item states, it was unusual; the market was always China.

Captain Hill's narrative shows that the capture of the *Boston* was known on the coast almost immediately: according to him the *Juno* and the *Mary* appeared at Nootka two days thereafter; according to Jewitt, four days thereafter. Over and over again the traders remark how rapidly news appeared to travel amongst the natives. Jewitt does not state categorically that these ships knew of the capture; but their conduct indicates, as Captain Hill states, that they were aware of it.

It may be of interest to insert here the following personal description of Jewitt as given to W.E. Banfield by an old Indian, who, as a boy, had known the "Prisoner of Nootka"; Jewitt, it seems, was a general favorite, owing to his good-humor and light-heartedness, and he often recited and sang in his own language for the amusement of the savages. He was described as a tall, well-made youth, with a mirthful countenance, whose dress latterly, consisted of nothing but a mantle of cedar-bark."—Sproat's *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 5.

A rough bibliographical sketch and a few short notes have been appended to Captain Hill's statement to make plain some of the allusions.

F. W. HOWAY.

First Items

"We are extremely sorry to learn that the ship *Boston*, Capt. JOHN SALTER has been taken at Nootka Sound (N.W.C.) by the natives of that place. The *Boston* was fitted out in England, where most of her crew were shipped.¹ The following are the names of the officers: capt., *John Salter* commander; Mr. *John*

¹ According to Jewitt, the *Boston* was "the largest, strongest, and best equipped ship, with the most valuable cargo of any that had ever been fitted for the North-West trade."

B. Delouisy, 1st mate; *Mr. William Ingraham*, 2nd mate; *Mr. James Tillebrown*, carpenter; *Mr. William Cowell*, boatswain"—From the *Columian Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist*, April 25, 1804.

"May 12. Brig *Lydia*, Capt. Hill from the North West Coast of America; last from Canton, 123 days; cargo: otters, nankins, etc., to Theodore Lyman."—From *Independent Chronicle*, of Boston, May 14, 1807.

Loss of the Boston

(Communicated by Captain Hill from Canton).

"About two months after my arrival on the coast of North West America I received a letter (by the hand of an Indian Chief named Utilla)² the purport of which was, that the ship *Boston*, commanded by John Salter, was taken by Maquinnah, and his warriors at Nootka Sound on the 22d March 1803, and that the captain together with his officers and crew, (excepting JEWITT and THOMPSON) were inhumanly butchered. The letter was dated at *Nootka* and signed by JOHN RODGERS JEWITT and JOHN THOMPSON; and earnestly entreated whoever received the letter, would come and deliver them from their miserable situation.

"As my business was of a commercial nature, I could not, consistent with my duty, pursue any measures whereby the success of my voyage might be endangered; yet common humanity demanded that an attempt should be made to relieve these unfortunate men. The contents of the above mentioned letter was made known to the several commanders on the coast; but the idea of an attempt to recover the men was generally deemed rash and improvident. Whether from want of judgment or that my humanity got the better of discretion, I do not pretend to say; but it appeared to me that it could not be thought rash or imprudent to go to Nootka, and take a view of the harbour, and discover whether the natives were disposed to be friendly or not. With this view I sailed from *Newetta*³ on the 11th of July 1805, and arrived at *Nootka Sound* on the 16th.⁴ With the help of my glasses I observed six pieces of cannon mounted on a kind of

² This chief, whom Jewitt calls Machee Ulatilla, took a great interest in him. Jewitt wrote sixteen letters which he despatched by various chiefs, but that confided to Ulatilla, chief of the Kloosahts, a tribe living to the northward of Nootka, was the only one that appears to have been delivered. Captain Hill said that this chief had paddled miles out to sea to hand him the letter.

³ Nahwitte, a port at the northern end of Vancouver Island. It was a favourite resort of the maritime traders.

⁴ Jewitt says the 19th; but his *Journal* shows that he had omitted one day, the 29th February 1804, hence he would really make it the 18th July.

rampart in front of the village, at the head of *Friendly Cove*. Having ascertained that there were neither men nor guns on *Hog Island* (which commands the entrance) I stretched into the cove and anchored in a position to command the passage to *Hog Island* and about two hundred yards from the village. In the course of twenty four hours after my arrival I recovered the two above mentioned captives and the guns, anchors, a few muskets and some other articles of less consideration; these were all they had left in their possession belonging to the BOSTON.—They were very unwilling to deliver up the two men; When they were about to embark in the canoe to come on board,⁵ a council was held on the beach, wherein several of the Chiefs advised to kill them both, and hazard the worst rather than suffer the particulars of their conduct, relative to the capture of the ship to be known; but they were given to understand that if they did not immediately bring the men on board, alive and unhurt, I would most assuredly punish their chiefs and destroy the village. This had the desired effect; and I was happy in recovering the men together with the guns and ammunition, without entering into a quarrel, which would have occasioned the loss of the lives of many young Indians who were entirely innocent. I had kept Maquinnah on board, until my business was finished, when I informed him he was at liberty to go on shore whenever he pleased; this was more than he expected as he had reconciled himself to the idea that he should lose his life; but when he was repeatedly assured to the contrary he thanked me in a very earnest manner, and made many promises of good behaviour in future. In what manner he will regard these promises, I cannot pretend to say. I have since visited him at Nootka and he and his people behaved very well.

“According to the best information which I have been able to collect on the subject, the following are the particulars relative to the capture of the BOSTON.—Captain JOHN SALTER arrived at NOOTKA SOUND on the 12th March, 1803, and anchored in a small cove or bason, situated about four miles north of *Friendly Cove*, on the western shore of the sound; the place is called by the natives, *Abooksha*.⁶ This is a safe and convenient harbour; except that it is too much confined for hostile neighbours. This was the first port he had entered on the coast. Here they were employed in procuring wood and water, and making preparations

⁵ Jewitt's *Narrative* states that they went in separate canoes: Thompson, first; and Jewitt, later.

⁶ Near the site of the present cannery village of Nootka.

to sail for a more northerly port, the first opportunity; and during their stay here, the most friendly intercourse had hitherto existed between Captain SALTER and the Chiefs of *Nootka*. On the 18th March MAQUINNAH borrowed a double barrelled musket of Captain SALTER for the purpose of shooting fowls; he returned on the 19th, bringing several pair of ducks of which he made a present to Capt. SALTER; at the same time presented him with the musket and informed him he had broken one of the locks.—Capt. SALTER used some very harsh threats on this occasion and taking the musket by the barrel he struck Maquinnah on the head with the breach of the musket.⁷ Soon after this MAQUINNAH and his attendants went on shore;—the news spread through the village of the high affront their King had received;—The Chiefs and warriors assembled on a sandy beach fronting the sea, to the S. W. of the village.—here the nature of the abuse was heightened with all the effect of savage eloquence—not by MAQUINNAH;—he sat silent and attentive to the orator, who, after he had set forth the unjust and unprovoked manner in which their King had been treated by Capt. SALTER, proceeded to remind them of their fathers and kindred who were slain by Capt. HANNAH some twenty or twenty five years past.⁸—He said their spirits cried loudly for revenge, and as yet had never been gratified with the blood of white men. He concluded by observing that now was the time to appease the injured spirits of their forefathers and take revenge for the abuse offered to their King. A deep silence ensued.—At length a warrior named YAH PANETZ, rose up, and first offered to make one of the party in the bloody attack. He said he had lost a father by the cruelty of the white men; and now he was ready to revenge his death. His example was followed by another and another, and finally by the whole council except one man, named TOPASHOTTAH. This chief declared that himself nor his family should aid or assist in the affair; he was accordingly expelled the council of warriors and despised as a traitor;—but it seems he persisted in his first resolution. The council next proceeded to lay down a plan of operations, which being settled the council broke up.

“On the 22d March the weather and wind seemed to promise

7 In Jewitt's *Narrative* he states that the captain presented the fowling-piece to Maquinnah and on its return broken used strong language and tossed it to him to repair.

8 Captain James Hanna, who in the *Harmon*, a small brig, in 1785, pioneered the maritime fur trade. We know, as yet, but little concerning this voyage or its incidents. An affray with the natives did occur, but the circumstances are in doubt. It is usually said that in revenge for the theft of a chisel Captain Hanna turned the brig's guns on the natives.

a favourable time to proceed northward; and Capt. SALTER had made known his intention of sailing that afternoon; the Indians had visited the ship daily, and it appears that Capt. SALTER had not entertained the least idea of any serious affront having been given to MAQUINNAH. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 22d March MAQUINNAH went on board the *Boston*, attended by a number of his chiefs and warriors; MAQUINNAH was painted and had a mask in imitation of a bear's head: When they came alongside of the ship they all shouted several times and MAQUINNAH performed a kind of mystical ceremony with an empty bottle, which he had under his garment: These ceremonies took place in their canoes along side; after this they went on board, and remained very quietly until noon; when Capt. Salter invited MAQUINNAH to dine with him, which he accordingly did:—While they were at table MAQUINNAH observed to Capt. SALTER that there was great plenty of salmon in *Friendly Cove* and expressed his surprise that Capt. SALTER did not send his officers and people to take salmon, which he said other captains had often done;—Capt. SALTER immediately turned to Mr. DELOUISA, his first officer, and expressed a wish for some salmon. —Mr. DELOUISA set out immediately with nine men, in the pinnace, accompanied with the drum and fife, in order to take salmon in *Friendly Cove*. Let us now take a view of the crew on board:—The armourer was at work in the steerage, cleaning muskets—the sailmaker between decks repairing sails—the steward on shore washing clothes—and the first officer with nine men gone to *Friendly Cove*: At this juncture Capt. SALTER ordered the second officer, Mr. Ingraham, to hoist the launch and get ready for sea by the time the pinnace returned—Mr. Ingraham called the men from below, viz., the armourer and sail-maker, to assist; but Capt. SALTER ordered these men to remain at their work; and when his people were ready to hoist away, the Indians were desired to assist. The men being placed at the tackle falls and the order given to hoist away, the signal was given by MAQUINNAH, who at the same instant seized Capt. SALTER, and threw him overboard, where the old women in the canoes along side, killed him with their paddles, and he expired, crying out 'WHACOSH, MAQUINNAH',⁹ while MAQUINNAH looking over the ship's side, laughed at the farce of the old women beating SALTER'S brains out with their paddles! As for the officers and

⁹ "Wacosh", or as Sproat gives it: "Waw-kash", was a word of salutation, though it was frequently employed to mean, "good".

crew on deck, they were dispatched in a few minutes, with knives, there being no opportunity for making resistance in the situation they were placed in, with three or four Indians to every man. JEWITT and THOMPSON were both wounded in attempting to come on deck, and the Indians immediately shut the hatches, which secured them below.—The ship being now in their possession, they gave a general shout, and sung the song of victory. They next dispatched a party to *Friendly Cove*, to kill Mr. DE-LOUISA and the boat's crew, who were entirely ignorant of what had happened. They were some of them killed with clubs, and some of them shot on the beach, at the head of *Friendly Cove*, just before the village of *Nootka*. The party returned to the ship bringing the heads of those they had killed:—The boy who was on shore, washing, was likewise dispatched and his head brought on board—They next proceeded to cut off the heads of all the slain; and threw the bodies overboard.—The heads being arranged in order from the Captain to the Cook they called up JEWETT from below, and ordered him to examine and count the heads, in order to ascertain if any were missing.

“Having the ship completely in their possession, without the loss of a man, MAQUINNAH ordered his men to cut the cable which the ship was riding by and loose the sails: They made shift to set the fore top sail; and having ordered JEWETT to steer the ship, in a short time they got to *Friendly Cove*, where they hauled her as far on the beach as the tide would allow them, and began to unlade the cargo. MAQUINNAH took care to secure the powder in his own house, and likewise the cloth and most valuable articles; the rest was free for all to take to themselves. On the 24th they were interrupted in their work by the arrival of two ships in the offing; these were the ships *Juno* and *Mary*,¹⁰ commanded by BOWLES and GIBBS, who, it seems had intelligence of the situation of the *Boston* and were then coming for the express purpose of taking the ship *Boston* from the Indians, by force.—Let us see how they conducted this business:—Both ships stretched up close to the entrance of *Friendly Cove*, where they each let go an anchor in very deep water, but neither ship brought up by her anchor; in much haste and confusion they fired three broad sides and one of the ships swinging on the rocks, without the Point they both cut their cables and stood out to sea again: Thus ended the expedition. It appears by the best accounts that

¹⁰ Jewitt in his *Journal* gives 26th March, not 24th as here .

the guns were fired from that side of each ship which was next the village; but whether the guns were directed towards the village or to the tops of some trees standing on a hill behind the village, is not certainly known as some double headed shot have been found on the aforementioned hill since that memorable expedition. It is very certain that none of their shot struck near the village; yet these ships were in smooth water, and about 230 yards from the village of *Nootka*. MAQUINNAH and his men fired at the ships with muskets and some blunderbusses; but he could not fire a gun at that time as the ship *Boston* was lying down on her beam ends; the weather guns had fetched away, and one of them had fallen in the main hold. The night following this adventure¹¹ the *Boston*, together with the great part of her cargo on board, was burned by the carelessness of some Indians going on board with a torch,—In the morning they beheld the ship in flames.”—From the *Columbian Centinel*, Wednesday, May 20, 1807.

Bibliographical Note on Jewitt's Narrative

The full title runs: “A narrative of the adventures and sufferings of John R. Jewitt; only survivor of the crew of the ship *Boston*, during a captivity of nearly three years among the savages of *Nootka Sound*: with an account of the manners, mode of living, and religious opinions of the natives.”

Middletown; Loomis & Richards; 1815 (March).

Middletown; 1815 (July)

New York; no date (presumably, 1815)

Middletown; Loomis & Richards; 1816.

New York; Daniel Fanshaw; 1816.

Middletown; Loomis & Richards; 1820.

Edinburgh; reprinted for Archd. Constable & Co.; 1824.

Ithaca; Andrus, Gauntlett & Co.; 1849.

With abbreviated title: “The adventures of John Jewitt only survivor of the crew of the ship *Boston* during a captivity of nearly three years among the Indians of *Nootka Sound* in *Vancouver Island*.”—

London: Clement Wilson; 1896 (with notes by Robert Brown.)

With title: “The captive of *Nootka*; or the adventures of John R. Jewett.”—

¹¹ This makes the burning of the *Boston* occur on the night of 25th March 1805, but Jewitt's *Journal* states that it happened on the night of 28th March.

Philadelphia; Henry F. Annors; 1841.

Philadelphia; Lippincott, Grambo & Co.; 1854.

Philadelphia; Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger; 1869.

A much abridged account is also contained (pp. 125-162) in *Tales of Travels West of the Mississippi*, by Solomon Bell. Boston: Gray & Bowen; 1830.

DOCUMENTS

INDIAN WAR IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

In this *Quarterly* for October, 1925, page 314, it was announced that T. C. Van Epps had sent from Los Angeles, California, two historic documents. According to promise then made, one of the documents is here reproduced. It relates to the condition of the Indian tribes at the head of Puget Sound as reported by Wesley B. Gosnell, Special Indian Agent, at the end of 1856, and gives his carefully drawn conclusion as to the causes of the Indian war then fresh in mind.

The preservation of the document is in itself an interesting story. Mr. Van Epps is one of Olympia's highly respected pioneers. In writing from California September 1, 1925, he says: "I started this life on February 15, 1847, but still consider myself a young man, mentally at least." In sending the document, he says: "This original copy came into my hands in this manner. You will probably remember that I had a book, stationery and notion store in Olympia for about fifteen years. Major E. T. Gunn was the publisher of the *Olympia Transcript* for many years and a close friend of mine. Upon his demise, the office fixtures were sold and I purchased from the administrator a sixteen-drawer cabinet for holding large sizes of cardboard. In the cabinet I found this original report. I presumed it had been taken there to be printed before sending a copy to Washington, D. C. I have preserved it all these forty-two years intending to send it to you to be placed in the Historical Archives of the State."

In 1857, the Territory of Washington published at Olympia, (Edward Furste, Public Printer,) what is now a rare book entitled *Message of the Governor of Washington Territory. Also, The Correspondence with the Secretary of War, Major Gen. Wool, the Officers of the Regular Army, and of the Volunteer Service of Washington Territory*. There are 406 pages of letters and documents pertaining to the Indian war. It is one of the prime sources of that period of Northwestern history. The document here reproduced does not appear in that volume. It was probably finished after the many other documents had been compiled for printing. The latest document included in the book bears the date of November 23, 1856, and this one by Special Agent Gosnell is dated December 31, 1856.

There is a reference in the volume (pages 73-74) to earlier work by Lieutenant Gosnell. Governor Stevens, in a letter to Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, under date of March 21, 1856, says: "Lieut. Gosnell has made one scout in the Nesqually bottom of ten days, with 14 Indians. Yesterday morning he started out on a scout of three days with thirty Indians. The effect of the first scout was salutary. Such I doubt not will be the effect of the second, yet in the first scout Lieut. Gosnell went with his life in his hands. Some of his Indians were more than suspected, and he went with them alone."

The Governor's son, General Hazard Stevens, in *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, Volume II., has several references to Wesley Gosnell. On page 169, in giving a brief muster of Indian auxiliaries he shows the Squaxon tribe with fifteen under Lieutenant Wesley Gosnell. On page 187, he says: "Captain Sidney Ford with his Chehalis Indians, and agent Wesley Gosnell with a party of friendly, or pretended friendly, Indians from the Squaxon reservation—own brothers to the hostiles these—scoured the swamps and bottoms of the Puyallup and Nisqually." Again on page 255, he says: "When Sidney Ford led a party of Chehalis Indians on a scout against the enemy, he lay one night pretending slumber, while he listened to a long discussion between his *friendly* Indian followers as to the expediency of killing him and joining the hostiles. Agent Wesley Gosnell had a somewhat similar experience, What iron nerves, what devoted patriotism, thus to venture into the trackless forests at the head of these uncertain and treacherous savages!"

Gosnell remained Special Agent during the next year, 1857. Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, pages 176-177, states that two Indian Superintendencies were united in the spring of that year under J. W. Nesmith who found "W. B. Gosnell in charge of the Nisqually and Puyallup Indians on the Puyallup reservation".

It is well known that there were some genuine friends among the Indians of that time. It may be that a few have survived all these years who could recall those days of trouble. Still more certain is it, that children and grandchildren of those friendly Indians would appreciate it if records could be discovered setting forth the good deeds of their ancestors. However that may be, the children of the pioneers will undoubtedly share with writers

of history a feeling of gratitude toward Mr. Van Epps for his making possible the publication of this document.

THE EDITOR.

The Gosnell Report

Olympia, Washington Territory.

December 31, 1856.

Hon. Isaac I. Stevens

Governor & Superintendent Indian Affairs,

Olympia, Wash. Tery.

Sir:

Having received an appointment from you on the 1st inst of Special Indian Agent to take charge of the Indians parties to the Treaty of Medicine Creek, negotiated Dec. 26, 1854, I deem it proper at this time to submit the following report of the Action I have taken in pursuance of my instructions to carry into effect the stipulations of said Treaty, the condition of the Indians, and the state of affairs generally in my special agency.

The Indians under my charge are those belonging to the head of Puget Sound, and are collected upon the Squoxain, Puyallup and Nisqually Reservations. The number of Indians belonging to each may be set down as follows: Squoxain 375, Puyallup 550, and Nisqually 240.

The Indians belonging to Squoxain Reservation have come in pretty generally for the winter. They are comfortably clothed, enjoy very good health and appear to be well satisfied and contented. Eight Indian houses have been completed, and are occupied by the Indians who much prefer them to their former miserable huts. A blacksmith shop has also been completed, and will be in operation in a few days, or as soon as iron can be obtained. As these Indians have provided for themselves considerable food for the winter, I shall issue provisions to them very sparingly, until the Spring months, which are the most severe on them for subsistence. I have visited the Indians on the Puyallup and Nisqually Reservations twice during the last month.

Warren Gove, the Carpenter appointed under the Treaty, is in charge of the Puyallup Reservation, and is engaged in constructing quarters for the winter and in making preparations for raising a crop next year. A contract has been let to Messrs. Harned & Morgan to build twelve Indian houses on this Reservation.

Owing to the great difficulty of obtaining sawed lumber in that vicinity, I do not expect that those houses will be completed

before the first of May next. There are only about 200 Indians on this Reservation at present. They are in a very destitute condition both as regards clothing and food. They are also very unhealthy and are dying off rapidly. They appear to be very religiously inclined and the Catholic Priests have probably more influence with them than any other tribe on the Sound. On the 8th inst. the Chief of this Tribe, *K'Qatch-ee*, died.—He was about 80 years of age, had always borne the character of a good Indian, and the instructions which he gave to his people a short time before his decease were very good, and will have a beneficial influence. The head chief of the Puyallup Tribe is now *Es-ahl-atahte*.

Wm. P. Wells, the farmer under the Treaty, will take charge of the Nisqually Reservation as soon as the weather moderates sufficiently to permit the necessary work to be done. Quite a number, perhaps 100 Indians, have congregated here. These Indians are also badly prepared for the winter, both as to food and clothing. Their health, however, is generally very good. The Indian "Charley" mentioned in my report as Local Agent, who was then missing, has been found dead on the Chehalis river. It is supposed that his death was caused by a fall of some twenty feet from a log lying across a ravine, and which he attempted to go over in a state of intoxication. His Tribe appear satisfied that his death was accidental.

I am happy to be able to state that but comparatively little whiskey has been trafficked during this month among the Indians of my charge. They all manifest a very friendly disposition towards the whites and are very anxious that all those steps towards the improvement of their condition which are referred to in their Treaty should be carried into execution without delay.

On the first breaking out of hostilities, the friendly Indians having been removed to Reservations under orders of the Indian Department, many of them were compelled to leave their horses behind to the mercy of the hostiles and volunteers. Some of these horses were afterwards retaken, but many were lost. Over 30 horses are now claimed to have been thus lost by the Indians under my charge. The Indian Department has always promised that the friendly Indians should be indemnified for all losses consequent upon their removal to Reservations. I respectfully call your attention to this matter and ask that some steps may be taken at an early day towards paying those Indians who have suffered in this way.

I desire to call your attention to the course pursued by the Military authorities in reference to Indians who were engaged in hostilities against the whites west of the Cascades. The fact that Indians known to have been engaged in the murders of white men and women, are suffered to run at large through the Territory, and no steps taken to arrest them for trial before the Civil Courts has a bad effect upon the friendly Indians as well as upon the citizens, and may yet be the cause of serious difficulty. I have refused to receive such Indians upon the Reservations for the following reasons: 1. I did not deem it the legitimate duty of the Indian Service to furnish an asylum of protection to known Indian murderers. 2. As those murderers are liable, until after a trial, to be killed by white men who are the relatives or friends of the persons murdered, to collect them on the Reservations would be to make those places the theatre of illegal revenge, by proclaiming to all those who had lost relatives in the recent hostilities where to come to find the murderers. 3. I have not the power, if I even possessed the authority, to protect these murderers from the whites. The Indians have always been taught by us that the violators of the law would be brought to justice; but when they see murderers running at large over the Territory, and no steps taken by the Military to arrest them, or shot down without trial by the incensed relatives of the deceased, their faith in the professions of government is much shaken.

After an Indian has been tried and acquitted, I will receive him and will protect him with my life against any and all attempts of white men to injure him. But until they are tried by the Courts and discharged, I will not receive or take charge of known murderers. In order that I may not be thought to arrive at unfavorable conclusions as to the guilt of Indians without proper foundation, I will state that my information is always derived from either the Indians of the tribe to which the accused belongs, or from the fact that an indictment is pending against him in Court. For the sake therefore of justice to the white man as well as the Indian, and for the purpose, if possible, of preventing any further Indian difficulties in this Territory, I do trust that the Military authorities of this Territory will, ere it is too late, take this matter in hand, arrest all supposed Indian murderers and turn them over to the Civil Courts where they will receive a fair and impartial trial.

The principal portion of the hostiles west of the Cascades in

the late Indian war were from the Puyallup and Nisqually Tribes, which are now under my charge. In my intercourse with these tribes I have derived considerable information from them in reference to the origin of the war, which, as it may be interesting to you, I will take the liberty of inserting in this report.

The Indian War has been in contemplation for over three years by the Klickatats, Yakimas and Walla Wallas. During the summer of '55 they made a proposition to the Indians on the Sound to assist in exterminating the whites, and they should receive an equal share of the spoils. The Treaty with these Indians was not the cause of the outbreak, but was only used by those who had determined on a war as a ground of argument to create disaffection among the others. During the summer Leschi, a Nisqually chief, visited the Indians east of the Cascades, both in this and Oregon Territory. The Yakimas, Klickatats and Walla Wallas were then holding Councils in reference to their plan of operations in the proposed war against the whites. These Councils were attended by Leschi, and at one of them a proposition was made to him by those Tribes, that if he and his brother Quiemuth, could succeed in inciting the Nisquallies to open acts of hostility against the settlements on Puget Sound, they would receive in payment for their Services 100 head of Cattle and 150 horses. This proposition was accepted by Leschi, on behalf of himself and his brother, and the bargain was formally concluded.

On his return to the Sound country, he told his people that the extermination of the whites in this Territory had been agreed upon by the Indians east of the Cascades, and urged them by every argument, threat and persuasion in his power, to join in the combination. He told them that besides their share of the spoils (movable property) that they would of course possess all the buildings and other improvements made on the soil by the whites. He represented to them that the Indians east of the mountains were very powerful and told them that it was their design to not only exterminate the whites, but to kill and make slaves of all Indians on the Sound whom they found had not taken up arms against the whites. This threat added to other arguments was not without its influence in exciting them to revolt. It was Leschi who first started the famous story of the *Polakly Illehee* or "Land of Darkness"—a story most admirably adapted to work upon the fears and credulity of an ignorant and uncivilized people: it spread among all the Indians with the rapidity of wild-fire, exciting horror at

the terrible future in store for them and arousing their latent savage hatred for all whites. These chiefs did not calculate that we would receive any assistance from abroad.—They expected, as the Indians of Oregon were hostile, that the people of that Territory would have enough to do to protect themselves, and that before a sufficient force of troops from California or the States could reach us, their work could be done and their object attained.

Another inducement to go to war was offered to them by certain employees and discharged employees of the Hudsons Bay Company and other foreigners in this Territory, intermarried with Indian women. These people told the Indians that a war between the United States and Great Britain was unavoidable, and that if they could succeed in wiping out the Settlement north of the Columbia river, they would not only receive the benefits of the plunder, but the Americans would never again attempt to settle the country, and they could obtain better pay for their lands from the English Government.

These assurances I am informed were accompanied by liberal presents of ammunition and promises of further assistance in case of need.

During the Summer of 1855 a Hudsons Bay Pack Train, with a very large quantity of Powder, Lead and other supplies, left Fort Nisqually for Fort Colville. I am informed by a white man who professed to be knowing to the fact, that in passing through the Klickitat Country, the gentleman in charge of the Train, made presents of large quantities of ammunition to those Indians, openly encouraging them to take up arms against the Americans, and assuring them that there was no doubt of their success, if they were united, and further that he felt certain that all the Indians both east and west of the Cascades would cooperate with them. Shortly afterwards the murders of those citizens of this Territory on their way to Fort Colville Gold mines, took place, and I cannot but regard this as a confirmation of the truth of the information I received.

The Upper Nisquallys, Upper Puyallups, a portion of the lower Puyallups, the Klickatats and other Indians living near the head of Green and White rivers, together with a portion of the Duwamish at once entered into the combination. The other Indians of the Sound, their Sympathies with the hostiles, but afraid of the whites on the one hand, and equally in terror of the execution of the threats of the Indians east of the mountains on the

other, hesitated, and stood for some time on a balance as it were, for peace or for war. Meanwhile those who were in favor of the plan used every effort to make the combination general. Messengers or runners were dispatched in every direction with exaggerated tales of the power and successful operations of the confederated Tribes east of the Cascades, and of wrongs committed against the Indians by the whites; and influential Chiefs travelled among the Sound Tribes exhorting them to take up arms and make common cause.

Without doubt some Indians had suffered real greivances in a limited degree at the hands of the whites. Bad white men had obtained the labor or services of Indians and failed to pay the stipulated wages. Their ancient burial places and fishing grounds had been interfered with, and old camping spots and potatoe patches had been wrested from them and plowed up by the Settler. These instances of wrong, however, were rare, and were deemed of less importance by the Indians themselves than by impartial whites, and are more than compensated by the many substantial comforts and advantages which they have received in their trade and intercourse with the whites. The hostiles themselves do not assign these as the cause of their outbreak. All the real causes operating upon the minds of the Indians west of the Cascades in determining them to take up arms against the whites, may be briefly summed up under the following heads: 1. The Yakimas, Klickatats, and Walla Wallas, being known to be powerful tribes, and feared as such, had determined upon war, and had threatened, if they were successful, to kill and make slaves all who failed to make common cause with them, and the Sound Tribes were afraid that this threat would be literally carried into execution. 2. The prospect of the spoils. 3. The encouragement they received from foreigners in this Territory. 4. Believing that unless effectually checked in time the Americans would overrun the country and the Indians would [be] wiped out, they regarded the present as a timely and favorable opportunity to extirminate them.

The Strength of the hostiles west of the Cascades at the outbreak may be estimated as follows: Nisquallys and a portion of the Lower Puyallups, under Leschi and Quiemuth 65 warriors: The Green and White river Indians together with the disaffected of the Upper Duwamish, under Nelson and Kitsap, 35 warriors: The Klickatats and their relatives, west of the mountains, living on and near the head of Green and White rivers, under Kenaskut

55 warriors: and the Upper Puyallups, under Quilquilton, 20 warriors. Total number in the field 175, who commenced hostilities on the White river Settlements by murdering men, women and children Oct [28] 1855.

In February following these were reinforced by 40 Klickatse from the East of the Cascades under the command of young Owhi.

It is now ascertained beyond doubt that the above were not the only Indians west of the Cascades who entered into the combination. All the Tribes on the Sound and Straits Sympathized with the movement, and the great majority of them actually and formally pledged themselves in council to act in concert. Had these not been compelled by unlooked for events to violate their faith, the number of warriors in the field west of the Cascades would have been swelled from 215 to over 1200. What prevented the perfection of the Indian Combination [on] the Sound will appear from what follows.

The massacre on White river took place too soon. Nelson and Kitsap committed a fatal error by striking a blow until the combination was properly matured, and before the plans were agreed upon and fully understood. Although it was undoubtedly a mistake, yet the step taken at that particular time displays Shrewdness and bears evidence that it was not done without consideration. The Company of Volunteers under Captain Hayes, and the Company of Regulars under Captain Maloney, which had marched from Fort Steilacoom a few days previous left the Sound country in a comparatively defenceless condition. It was supposed by both whites and Indians that these companies would of course push on over the mountains into the Yakima country, there to join Major Rains for the purpose of punishing that Tribe for the murder of the miners. Very fortunately, and unexpectedly to the Indians, Capt. Maloney in command of the two Companies, after proceeding as far as the Nachess pass, determined to fall back to Fort Steilacoom. Had it not been for this occurrence, together with the promptness with which other Volunteer Companies took the field in response to the call of the executive, and the effective blows struck at White and Green rivers, it is more than probable that combination, notwithstanding the imprudence of Nelson and Kitsap, would have been perfected on the Sound.

As it was, however, the Sound Tribes generally, surprised at the massacre on White river, they were equally taken aback by the

sudden return of Maloney, and the prompt action and vigorous blows struck both by the Volunteers on this side the mountains and by the Oregon Volunteers on the other side. They were amazed. The energetic movement of the Oregon Troops in our behalf was an event they had as little calculation upon as they had of the sudden outbreak and immediate accompaniments. Without any thought of relinquishing their design of entering into the combination, all those who had not actually committed themselves by overt acts or hostility, considered it their best policy to come under the control of the Indian Service for the time being, quietly watch the progress of the contest, and stand ready to seize any good opportunity to strike an effective blow which a favorable turn in the war might present. Hence it was that all the friendly (so called) Indians had regular communication with the hostiles during the fall and winter of 1855, and always received accurate news of the progress of the conflict long in advance of the whites. Fortunately, the favorable turn, so anxiously looked for and confidently expected, never happened. At this stage of affairs it is proper to refer to the testimony unanimously borne by the Indians to the prompt and efficient action of M. T. Simmons, Indian Agent, in breaking up the combination of the Sound Tribes. Immediately after the White river massacre he went to work to remove the friendly Indians to a distance from the scene of hostilities, so as to prevent their conniving at, or joining in the movements of the hostiles. He told them that the war ground was on the east side of the Sound, and that all who remained on that side would be considered hostile by the whites and treated accordingly:—and that all who desired to be regarded as friendly must remove to the west side. To effect such an object at such a time was no trifling undertaking: but by indefatigable exertions and at great personal risk, he at length succeeded in removing all the Indians who were in any danger of becoming disaffected, except a few who remained in the town of Seattle to the west side of the Sound. Those thus removed were placed on Reservation under the charge of Local Agents whose business it was to watch them and give notice of any suspicious movement. The hostiles saw that it was impossible to receive assistance from the friendly Indians so long as they remained on Reservation, and Leschi made one effort in the case of his descent upon Fox Island, to break up the whole system. Having met with but little success in that attempt he never repeated it. Being thus subjected to a rigid sys-

tem of surveillance by the Indian Department, and receiving no encouragement from the several battles which took place between the hostiles and the troops, the Indians on the Reservations gradually lost sight of their former disaffection. Indeed in the course of time, seeing that there was no hope for the hostiles, some Tribes expressed a willingness to enter the field and fight for the whites. This offer was at once accepted by the Indian Department, which was desirous, in order to effectually guard against the possibility of the friendly Indians turning, to place them in an attitude of unmistakable hostility toward those who had taken up arms against the whites. Patkanim, the Chief of the Snoqualmie Tribe, who is known to have attended the Councils to effect a combination among the Tribes, having lost all hope in the success of the hostile movement, and designing to ingratiate himself and his people in the confidence of the whites, as well as on account of the pay which was offered, took the field at the head of 60 of his tribe, and remained out over a month. Besides the Snoqualmies, a portion of the Chehalis, Squoxin, Skakwamish and Snohomish tribes, actuated by similar motives, took up arms for the whites. By this means all sympathy with the hostiles was obliterated, and they lost all hopes of a combination among the Sound tribes. In order to avoid being misunderstood, I will briefly recapitulate the events which prevented the combination of the Sound Tribes against the whites. They are as follows: 1. The massacre on White river before a perfect understanding had been secured among all the Tribes. 2. The unexpected return to the Sound Country of the two companies under Capt. Maloney. 3. The prompt movement and efficient blows struck by the Oregon Volunteers east of the Cascades. 4. The policy of the Indian Service in promptly removing, immediately after the outbreak, all professedly friendly Indians to the west side of the Sound. 5. The employment of friendly Indians as auxiliaries to operate in the field against the hostiles. I have the honor to be very respectfully

Your obt. Serv^t.

W. B. Gosnell,
Special Ind. Agt.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Aristocratic West. By KATHARINE FULLERTON GEROULD.
(New York: Harpers, 1925. Pp. 220. \$3.50.)

"The Aristocratic West" is a series of interpretive sketches of the West in general, including chapters on Salt Lake City, Oregon and Washington, New Mexico and Arizona, Reno, and San Francisco.

The first essay enlightens the reader as to the meaning of the term "Aristocratic West." To the author this is the Far West, the still romantic, very democratic, highly civilized West where "self respect, dignity," and generous consideration of the social and moral rights of others are to be found even in the common man.

In the essays which follow, Mormonism is thoroughly analyzed, the early jealousies of Tacoma, Seattle and Portland are well aired and their climate, scenery and future possibilities adequately discussed. The decaying civilizations of the Spanish and of the Pueblo Indian are made the outstanding features of New Mexico, Reno, sinister and sordid, is merely the haven of the divorcee, and San Francisco, the peer of New York City, represents all that is best in California history.

Mrs. Gerould is an entertaining, but not altogether convincing writer. Her very extravagant praise of what she is fond of, and her equally severe criticism of what she is disinterested in do not indicate a deep knowledge of her subject, but rather the superficial gleanings of the traveler which she admits herself to be.

ETHEL CHRISTOFFERS.

A History of Economic Progress in the United States. By WALTER W. JENNINGS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economic History in the University of Kentucky. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1926. Pp. XVI 819, \$4.50.)

Economic history, says Professor Jennings, "is nothing more nor less than the explanation of the economic life of a people." As it is here treated it is more than a narrative of this life, for economic life is never isolated from the political, social, religious and racial factors. Moreover Professor Jennings lays emphasis throughout his handling of the material on the "Economic Progress" of the American people. The book is divided into five

broad divisions of increasing length. 1. The colonial period. 2. To close of the war of 1812. 3. To opening of the Civil War. 4. To 1900, and 5. The twentieth century. Within these broad divisions the treatment is in the main topical, though not entirely so. Each division contains a chapter on population, on agriculture, on manufacturers, on commerce and on finance.

Then there are additional chapters dealing with new phases of development. The Colonial division leads with a chapter on the English Commercial Policy. The third introduces discussions of the Tariff policy and the problems of labor which are continued throughout the other divisions, and also a chapter on internal improvements. The fifth division introduces the problem of immigration and a discussion of the Trust Movement and Conservation.

The book is a veritable mine of useful information and bears abundant evidence of an enormous amount of painstaking work. There are many minor errors but the marvel is that there are so few when one considers the multitudinous details involved in telling the story. The work is so exceedingly well done that it seems unappreciative to criticise, nevertheless some of the more important topics that need improvement should be pointed out. No one depending on the book alone will understand Shays' Rebellion nor the reasons for the opposition to Hamilton's financial policy. In fact it has become so customary to ignore the latter that one is tempted to wonder if American text-book writers understand the reasons for this opposition. The paragraph headed "Commercial Difficulties Primarily Responsible for the Constitutional Convention" is misleading as these commercial difficulties are there treated. The early labor movement is slighted and the organization and growth of the great railroad systems is poorly done. These however are minor faults in a very good book. The spirit of the whole story is well summed up in the closing paragraph. "America, with her wonderful resources and versatile people, by proper conservation of material resources and life and by more equitable distribution of the opportunities and rewards of life, can do away with radicalism and make this the greatest Christian nation of all times. The true patriot is one who will work for future generations, the one who obeys the law at all times, but also the one who seeks to right the wrongs which all intelligent people know exist."

EDWARD McMAHON.

Early Days in the Big Bend Country. By WILLIAM S. LEWIS. (Spokane: W. D. Allen, Publisher, 1926. Pp. 35. Big Bend Edition, \$1.50; Autograph Edition, \$2.50.)

The booklet here mentioned represents a printing in limited editions of 105 and 100 copies each of an address given by the author at the Meeting of the Lincoln and Adams Counties' Pioneer Association on June 17, 1919. The address was first printed in whole or in part in various newspapers. It is now issued in attractive and durable form for the benefit of students and pioneers.

Mr. Lewis writes for the pioneer and his immediate descendants. He has made for popular delivery a series of word pictures in which the excellencies of the pioneer settlers are justly and appreciatively extolled. Incidents of early times are here recorded also, thus making a convenient summary of the history of the Big Bend Country.

Little Journeys to Alaska and Canada. By EDITH KINGMAN KERN and MARIAN M. GEORGE. (Chicago: Flanagan, 1926. Pp. 80 plus 94.)

The continued usefulness of this volume is shown by the fact that a new edition has been called for bearing a 1926 copyright entry. Previous copyrights bear the dates of 1901 and 1923. The little volume is written for the use of children and makes an excellent supplementary text for the grades.

The Book of the West. By HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925. Pp. 205.)

This book is dedicated to "All lovers of the West who are not too young to think or too old to learn." It is a story of Western Canada beginning with the earliest times and coming to date. As a brief resume of many matters and much time it has necessarily sacrificed details which a student of history would seek. It has retained enough of fact, however, to justify its inclusion of a list of books relating to the history and description of Canada. The illustrations have been selected with care and add to the descriptive value of the book.

The North American Indian 1926 Year Book. By PHILIP HUGH HOWELL. (Everett: P. H. Howell, 1926. Fifty cents.)

This is the first Year Book published by the North American Indian Weekly. It is issued as a special supplement under the

editorship of Philip H. Howell, a member of the Clallam Tribe. It is mainly devoted to news notes of the Puget Sound Indians together with English versions of legends and customs of the Northwestern Indians.

My Friend the Indian. By JAMES McLAUGHLIN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926. Pp. 417. \$4.00.)

That Colonel James McLaughlin did a good piece of work when he wrote and first published his *My Friend the Indian* is evidenced by this new edition sixteen years after the first one.

Colonel McLaughlin died on July 28, 1923, after 52 years of continuous service in the United States Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He had personal acquaintance with more Indians than was enjoyed by any other white man. His book is a valuable part of the literature of the West.

This new edition is enhanced by an appreciative introduction from the pen of George Bird Grinnell, the well known author of works about Indians. The book contains the Indians' version of the famous Custer Massacre and this new issue is in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of that battle.

The Indians Today. By FLORA WARREN SEYMOUR. (Chicago: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., 1926. Pp. 235.)

Mrs. Seymour is the first woman to receive appointment as a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. This honor came to her in 1922. Before that she had devoted a number of years to the Indian service. She has had abundant opportunity to learn the subjects about which she has written in *The Indians of Today*.

The book is intended for young readers in general but more especially as a supplemental reader for the upper grammar grades in connection with the study of geography and history. Here in the Pacific Northwest particular interest will attach to the chapter "The Nez Perce's" beginning at page 189.

The book is well printed, has a glossary and index, as well as fifty-five illustrations and two maps.

Indian Stories and Legends. By NELS BRUSETH. (Arlington, Washington: The Author, 1926. Pp. 21. Fifty cents.)

The author, while at work in the Forest Service and at times as a packer in the Cascade Mountains over a period of twenty

years, has had a chance to collect at first hand and from pioneers these *Indian Stories and Legends*, twenty-eight in all. This little "first edition" impresses one with the evident sincerity of Mr. Bruseth. The stories are well worth saving. He deserves to be encouraged to collect more legends from the original sources and publish them.

Indian Legends from the Land of Al-ay-ek-sa. By HARRIET ROSSITER. (Ketchikan, Alaska: E. C. Howard, 1925. Pp. 31.)

In transmitting a copy of her book, the author wrote: "I interviewed a great many Indians in order to get the information contained in the book as accurate as possible. The Indian names and their meaning I secured from perfectly reliable sources." As would be expected, totem poles and war canoes embellish these legends from Alaska. The little booklet gives promise of becoming a prized item among those who collect Alaskan.

Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1917-1918. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925. Pp. 636.)

Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1918-1919. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925. Pp. 664.)

These two reports in the valuable series carry the usual recapitulation of work by the Bureau in the first thirty pages and the bulk of each large volume is given to what is called the "Accompanying Paper." In the first one the special study is "The Osage Tribe: Rite of Vigil," by Francis La Flesche. The special contribution in the second volume consists of five papers by Truman Michelson discussing rites, customs and societies of Fox Indians.

Canadian History, A Syllabus and Guide to Reading. By REGINALD GEORGE TROTTER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926. Pp. 162.)

Professor Trotter, now of Queen's University, was formerly a member of the faculty at Stanford University where he first prepared the syllabus from which this book has grown. Pages 109-115 contain the portion most closely applicable to the Pacific Northwest. Those pages contain subdivision XVII., entitled "The West Before Federation." The outline is followed by references to books and periodicals. Like other similar works, this one is

likely to go through many editions if it should prove acceptable as a teaching tool.

British Columbia Historical Association: Third Annual Report and Proceedings. Edited by PROFESSOR W. N. SAGE. (Victoria, British Columbia: Provincial Library and Archives, 1926. Pp. 66.)

In addition to lists of officers and members, the Secretary's report and introduction by the editor, there are the following items in this issue: "Unveiling of Monuments Erected by Historic Sites and Monuments Board; Sir Alexander Mackenzie, by Judge F. W. Howay; Speech at Yale, by Judge Murphy; Annual Presidential Address, by Judge F. W. Howay; Pacific Station and Esquimalt Naval Establishment, by Major F. V. Longstaff; The Colonial Postal Service of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, by A. Stanley Deaville; Notes and Reviews, by the Editor."

British Columbia Provincial Museum of Natural History, Report for the Year 1925. By FRANCIS KERMODE, Director. (Victoria, British Columbia: The Museum, 1926. Pp. 38.)

A healthy and substantial growth is recorded for the year. Many specimens and publications were added. A total of 58,149 were checked as visitors during the year. Two items are especially noted: The interest taken by the late Dr. C. F. Newcombe in the Museum has been carried on by his son Mr. W. A. Newcombe, especially in the conchological section. On the last page is a beautiful "In Memoriam" tribute to the late Charles Vancouver Piper, who recently died after attaining great fame as a botanist. Professor Piper was a native of Victoria and a graduate of the University of Washington.

Teaching Wyoming History by Counties. By GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD. (Laramie: Wyoming Department of Education, 1926. Pp. 63.)

This is a revised edition of the Wyoming Department of Education Bulletin No. 9, Series B. The author is Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wyoming. She has long shown industrious interest in the local history of Wyoming. She starts this Bulletin with an explanatory list of eighty-four books, each carefully numbered. An alphabetical list of the counties follows, each one having an outline with the authorities listed by

their numbers. This constitutes the guide for teaching Wyoming history by counties.

John T. Condon. By CLARK PRESCOTT BISSETT. (Seattle: Privately published, 1926. Pp. 14.)

Professor Bissett's beautiful tribute to his colleague and friend delivered at the funeral of John T. Condon, Dean of the University of Washington Law School, on Saturday, January 9, 1926, has been published in a neat booklet for friends and associates. The eulogy is prefaced by a brief biography and dedicated by the Alumni Association of the University of Washington to the memory of "The Dean."

The Educational Services of President N. D. Showalter. By J. ORIN OLIPHANT. (Cheney, Washington: Alumni Association of the State Normal School, Cheney, Washington, 1926. Pp. 20.)

This brief pamphlet preserves in compact form a remarkable tribute of professional respect and downright love for Noah David Showalter who recently retired from the presidency of the State Normal School at Cheney, Washington.

The author is himself an alumnus, of the Class of 1913. The educational history of President Showalter is told in a straightforward way but each page breathes affection for the leader and the man. The last nine pages are given to the expression of tributes from educational and professional men and women from different parts of Washington and from other States.

History of the American Frontier 1763-1893. By FREDERIC L. PAXSON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926. Pp. 598. \$3.50.)

This is a "student's edition" of Professor Paxson's well known book which was awarded the Pulitzer prize of \$2,000 for the best book of 1924 on the history of the United States. The last part of the title is misleading as the final chapter brings the date down to the admission to statehood of Arizona and New Mexico in 1912.

The Blazed Trail of the Old Frontier. By AGNES C. LAUT. (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1926. Pp. 266. \$4.00.)

A sub-title declares this to be the log of the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition of 1925. Mention has heretofore been

made of this significant undertaking by the Great Northern Railway Company. In this *Quarterly* for October, 1925, there appeared a review of eight beautiful pamphlets which had been generously distributed. Part of those pamphlets make up the bulk of this attractive volume. Its value is greatly increased by many illustrations from drawings by Charles M. Russell, well known as a western artist. Collectors, even those who have saved files of the original pamphlets, will be delighted to acquire the important record in the form of this substantial and intrinsically valuable book.

Asia, A Short History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.

By HERBERT H. GOWEN. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926. Pp. 436. \$3.50 net.)

Professor Gowen has again given evidence of his matchless industry and his abundantly acknowledged scholarship. The book teems with information clothed in beautiful and easily comprehended language.

The subject is, of course, enormous for treatment in a single volume, but, says the author in his foreword: "In the case of the following narrative it is hoped that the stimulus will be sufficient to prompt further research in volumes where the separate trees are of more concern than the entire plan of the forest." And again: "It is obvious that this history is written frankly from the Western point of view, and that therefore there is considerable reference to those incidents of European and American history which connect themselves with Asiatic affairs. To attempt a history of Asia from the Asiatic point of view would be to miss those interests which for the present furnish the bond between East and West."

Chapter XII., "The Dawn of the Pacific Era," will prove of particular interest to readers in the Pacific Northwest as there the author treats of the early development of this home region. Rapidly now the whole Pacific Rim is becoming more understandable; its multitudinous peoples are beginning to sense the duty of neighborliness. In the light of that fact this book will work its greatest good.

The table of contents, bibliographical appendix, chronological table and index are joys in their real helpfulness. There are nineteen illustrations and a general map of Asia.

Acquaintances of Doctor Gowen will know how highly he himself values this volume when they turn to the dedicatory page and read three words: "To My Wife."

The Historian and Historical Evidence. By ALLEN JOHNSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. Pp. 179.)

The author of *The Historian and Historical Evidence* is Professor of American History at Yale University. The title of the book sounds, and really is, technical. But the author has a further purpose. He says: "In writing this little book I have had in mind not only future writers of history but that intelligent reading public which would know how to discriminate between histories and histories."

The book comprises seven essays or chapters whose titles give a brief survey of the ground covered: "The Sources of Information, The Basis of Historical Doubt, The Technique of Historical Criticism, The Assessment of Evidence, The Evolution of Method, The Nature of Historical Proof, The Use of Hypotheses."

History as a Science. By ARTHUR MACDONALD. (The Congressional Apartments, Washington, D. C.: The Author, 1926. Pp. 26. Thirty-five cents.)

This rather remarkable pamphlet is issued by the author, as shown above, in this country, although the original title-page shows it to be a reprint from the *Calcutta Review* of February, 1926, published by the Calcutta University Press. The main contribution is a series of tables by which the author seeks to measure the elements of history by counting the important events. He used the recent *Reference History of the World* compiled by Professors Albert B. Hart, William S. Ferguson, Charles H. McIlwain, Everett Kimball and David M. Matteson.

His method is thus partly explained: "When the chronology reads: 'Alexander I reigns in Macedonia,' there are three important events: the mentioning of Alexander and Macedonia constitutes two, and the reigning one event."

The results of stupendous labor are packed into the slender pamphlet. It probably will never be checked for accuracy by any other human. Among conclusions reached from the tabulated events the most outstanding are the decrease of great men in the more recent periods of history and, as shown: "The greatest average number of events per year is 47.4 in the Era of Napoleon, lasting only 14 years (1800 to 1814)."

All these efforts toward definite measurement and classification are foreshadowed in the author's opening sentence: "There can be no Science on any subject, unless we can determine how many or how much, that is, the quantity."

Other Books Received

- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Annual Report, 1926*. (Hartford: The Society, 1926. Pp. 62.)
- CORBITT, D. L. *Calendars of Manuscript Collections, Volume I*. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1926. Pp. 351.)
- INGRAHAM, CHARLES A. *Elmer E. Ellsworth and the Zouaves of '61*. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1925. Pp. 167.)
- RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Michigan Under British Rule: Law and Law Courts, 1760-1796*. (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926. Pp. 493.)
- ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY. *Medieval and Modern Times. New and completely revised edition*. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926. Pp. 806. \$2.00.)
- UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Historical Records and Studies, Volume Seventeen*. (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1926. Pp. 255.)
- WASHINGTON IRRIGATION INSTITUTE. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Held at Yakima, Washington, February 10 and 11th, 1926*. (Yakima: G. C. Finley, Secretary, 1926. Pp. 141. \$1.00.)
- WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings of the Society at its Seventy-Third Annual Meeting, 1925*. (Madison: The Society, 1926. Pp. 67.)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

Harrison's "Guide"

Readers of this department may be interested in a pamphlet which has recently been donated to Professor Edmond S. Meany. The cover page reads: *Harrison's Guide and Resources of the Pacific Slope. Part I, embracing Washington Territory, giving a Minute Description of its Lands and Facilities for Settlement, Land Laws, Climate, Resources, etc.* By J. M. Harrison. (San Francisco: M. D. Carr and Co., 1872. Pp. 35).

An examination of the text of this sprightly pamphlet reveals much interesting data. The following quotations are drawn from the descriptive matter relating to Olympia and Seattle, the two chief towns of the Territory. Speaking of Olympia, the author says: "This city, the capital of Washington Territory, is built on Budd's Inlet, the head of steamboat navigation on Puget Sound. Its population has materially increased in the past year, and now exceeds sixteen hundred. It contains about three hundred and fifty dwelling houses, four churches, one telegraph station, one post office, one public and three private schools, three hotels, a Town Hall, a Masonic Lodge, a Good Templars' and an Odd Fellows' Hall, one public library and reading room, a jail, a bank and a bath house."

Scarcely less circumstantial is the following: "Seattle is situated on a gentle slope of high land fronting on Elliott's Bay and contains about sixteen hundred inhabitants. The Territorial University is located here and is one of the finest buildings in the Territory. There are also four churches, one large public school building, several hotels, a tannery, two drug stores, quite a number of dry goods, grocery and provision stores—two or three of which do a wholesale business, (having lost our notes in regard to this thriving place we cannot state the exact number); also two newspaper offices, the *Weekly Intelligencer* and *Seattle Times*."

A portion of the title page has been torn away but enough remains to show that the *Guide* was issued in five parts, the other four relating to Idaho, Oregon, Nevada and California. No copies were located in the Checklist of *Pacific Northwest Americana*. Bancroft lists what appears to be the complete *Guide* in his *Wash-*

ington, Idaho and Montana under the title: *Harrison's Guide, etc., of the Pacific Slope* (San Francisco, 1872). The item is not found in other bibliographies consulted. Owners of this item either in parts or in complete form will confer a favor by reporting their holdings to this magazine.

Further Note on Zimmermann's Cook

In the July issue of this department, mention was made of the acquisition by the University of Washington Library of a copy of the first edition of Zimmermann's *Reise um die Welt mit Captain Cook*. Correspondence with a considerable number of large libraries since that time has failed to reveal any other copy in the United States. One copy of the second German edition is now available in British Columbia and a copy of the first edition is to be found in the Turnbull Library at Wellington, New Zealand.

The discovery of two copies of this work recently has caused a revival of interest in the item. The *Chicago Tribune Ocean Times* for June 22, 1926, contains an article regarding Zimmermann and the copy of his book in the Wellington Library. The *Living Age* for July 10, 1926, reproduces in English translation a portion of the volume giving an account of Captain Cook's death. This article was in turn based upon an account in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 25, 1926, and was prefaced with the remark that the book was long supposed to have been irretrievably lost. Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster in cooperation with Mr. French of Victoria, B. C., has in hand the republication of this book in a bilingual edition, German and English, together with historical notes.

Jewitt's Narrative

Elsewhere in this issue is to be found a bibliographical note by Judge Howay relating to Jewitt's famous *Narrative*. This list contains thirteen editions of Jewitt's classic or five more than the number to be found in the Checklist of *Pacific Northwest Americana*. Of the thirteen, Judge Howay is the fortunate owner of eleven editions. Private collections such as this add very materially to the bibliographical resources of the Pacific Northwest. A union checklist of the private collections is doubtless far in the future but one cannot help wishing it were possible to secure a union list of rare privately owned books not to be found in the public libraries of the region.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Columbia River Historical Expedition

The event of greatest historic interest in the Pacific Northwest during the last three months was the Columbia River Historical Expedition by the Great Northern Railway Company assisted by State officials and representatives of historical societies. The leading article in this *Quarterly* for July, 1926, was a complete outline of the proposed Expedition written by Donald MacRae.

That outline was correct except for a few extras added to the programs. The addresses delivered and papers read were of high value and should be saved in printed form. Space will gladly be given in coming issues of this *Quarterly* for more detailed mention of the Expedition or for the publication of the addresses in full.

Rededication of Alki Point Monument

On Saturday, September 4, 1926, with elaborate ceremonies, the pioneer monument at Alki Point was rededicated. Two considerations brought this about. When the monument was first erected in 1905 permission was obtained from Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Smith to place it on the lawn fronting the Stockade Hotel. When the City of Seattle acquired a strip along the beach to be added to its park system representative pioneers began to express the wish that the monument might be moved across the street from private to public property. Opportunity to do this came unexpectedly when a motorized caravan, sponsored by the American Automobile Association, proposed to bring to Seattle a rock from the beach fronting the famous Plymouth Rock.

Local arrangements were hastily completed by a committee representative of the Seattle Park Board, the Street Department, the Washington Automobile Association, Seattle Chamber of Commerce and pioneers. Since the cross-continent caravan was being managed by J. H. Brown of the Michigan Automobile Association, the Michigan Society of Seattle undertook to serve a picnic lunch at Alki Point which would be followed by the program.

O. J. C. Dutton of the Park Board presided and after explaining the purpose of the meeting introduced Mr. Brown. He told how Mayor W. T. Eldridge of Plymouth, Massachusetts,

had sent on its way the stone obtained from the beach near the famous landing place of the Pilgrims. He then presented the stone to Mayor Bertha K. Landes of Seattle who accepted it with a gracious address. She placed the stone in the hands of Rolland H. Denny, one of the two survivors of the original Alki Point colony of November 13, 1851, and of Mrs. George H. Foster (Nettie A. Low) the first white child born at Alki Point (October 8, 1852). These two placed the stone in the niche prepared in the new foundation of the original monument. Beneath the niche was unveiled a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

"From Plymouth Rock to Alki Point

"Honoring pioneers on the American shores of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the above stone was brought from Plymouth Rock by the First Transcontinental Motorized Caravan, managed by James H. Brown, and endorsed by the American Automobile Association. This tablet was furnished by the Automobile Club of Washington. The unveiling ceremonies on September 4, 1926, was participated in by officers and citizens of the City of Seattle, the County of King and the State of Washington."

Chairman Dutton thanked the heirs of the estate of Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Smith for having sheltered and cared for the original monument for the last twenty-one years. He introduced a number of representative pioneers including Merle W. Denny, who is Governor of the Mayflower Society of the State of Washington. Mr. Denny is a grandson of Arthur A. Denny, leader of the original Alki Point colony.

A surprise number on the program was the presentation by Mayor Landes to Mr. Brown of a stone from the beach at Alki Point to be carried back to Plymouth, making mutual this symbolic honoring of the pioneers of the two oceans.

An address on the historic significance of the occasion was delivered by Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington.

Northwest Hall of Fame

In a letter to President Henry Suzzallo, of the University of Washington, W. Earl Hopper of the City of Long Branch, New Jersey, suggests the erection of a Hall of Fame for the Northwestern Pioneers. Publicity is here given to the suggestion in the hope that practical ideas may be offered to accomplish such a praiseworthy plan.

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